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International Affairs

The first round of talks between the three warring factions in Bosnia-Hercegovina within the Conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva concluded on 21 September, TANJUG reports. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, "described the Geneva talks on humanitarian issues as positive. However, he was pessimistic about the chances of ending the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 'because this would not suit the Moslem side.'" The Bosnian Serb delegation "made it clear that the talks on a constitutional reorganization of Bosnia-Hercegovina must take as their point of departure the three state entities." And the Muslim delegation "insisted on the well-known unitary position for an 'independent, sovereign and internationally recognized state.'"

Bosnia-Hercegovina

After a meeting with General Philippe Morillon, deputy commander of the UNPROFOR, Biljana Plavsic, member of the "leadership" of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that the Serb side had proposed the "establishment of ten exit corridors for civilians in Sarajevo." TANJUG reports that Morillon "expressed a high level of optimism that peace will be restored before the winter not only in Sarajevo but also elsewhere, but that the process must begin in Sarajevo."

Croatia

A statement by the UNPROFOR Information Service said that a joint commission of UNPROFOR, EC observer mission, Croatian Government, and local Serb representatives "has concluded that the Croatian Army is mainly responsible for frequent cease-fire breaches" in the pink zones, TANJUG reports. "The commission also concluded that the practice of destroying homes of the minority population is again in evidence on both sides of the demarcation line."

Czechoslovakia

When asked about the French vote on the Maastricht treaty in an interview by Prague TV, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus stated: "I am not sure that with a ratio of 50-something to 49-something that Europe has made an essential step. On the contrary, yesterday's referendum showed that Europe is terribly split."

Yugoslavia

Macedonia—TANJUG reports that Bulgaria "will begin the delivery of 26,000 tonnes of oil products to consumers in Macedonia" on 22 September. Vice Prime Minister Jovan Andonov said that 150 tankers "will deliver gasoline and other oil products every day." He added: "Bulgaria will make available to Macedonia all the facilities of the refinery in Burgas."

First Round of Geneva Talks on Bosnia Conclude

LD2209005292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2248 GMT 21 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—The first round of proximity talks in Geneva among delegations of the three warring sides in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina ended on Monday [21 September] night. The high-level talks resume on Tuesday at a lower level.

Fred Eckhard, the spokesman for U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance and E.C. negotiator Lord Owen, said this evening that the leaders of the three delegations—Bosnian Serbs' Radovan Karadzic, the Moslems' Haris Silajdzic and the Croat Mate Boban—who are due to leave Geneva during the night or in the morning, had expressed a readiness to come again when necessary.

The co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Vance and Owen, who are mediating in the talks, are also leaving Geneva tomorrow for Greece, for talks with Prime Minister Mitsotakis as part of permanent efforts in the quest for a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Fred Eckhard said this evening that the co-chairmen would again visit Zagreb and Belgrade on Thursday and Friday and continue the intensive consultations begun during their recent visits to Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade.

Radovan Karadzic and Momcilo Krajisnik, respectively the head and member of the Bosnian Serb delegation, left Geneva this evening. The other two members of the delegation—Nikola Koljevic and Aleksa Buha—will continue the talks tomorrow.

After his talks with Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen and with president of the task force for Bosnia-Hercegovina Marti Atisari this evening, Karadzic described the Geneva talks on humanitarian issues as positive. However, he was pessimistic about the chances of ending the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, "because this would not suit the Moslem side." According to Karadzic, talks on a constitutional reorganization of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina would go on for a long time, because the positions of the sides to the conflict are poles apart.

The Bosnian Serb side in Geneva made it clear that the talks on a constitutional reorganization of Bosnia-Hercegovina must take as their point of departure the three state entities and must pick up where the European Community-sponsored Lisbon talks of the three sides on a cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina left off.

The Moslem delegation insisted on the well-known unitary position for an "independent, sovereign and internationally recognized state." The paper offered by the Moslem side stresses that "authorities at all levels" in Bosnia-Hercegovina will not permit "secessionist intentions," but will permit a kind of decentralization "into regions, which shall not have the characteristics of a state."

Asked by the author of this report what he had in mind when he said this evening that the first three days had got the Geneva conference off to a good start, Fred Eckhard said that the atmosphere was good, but he could not honestly say that there were any concrete matters which might be taken as a basis for optimism. He said negotiations were going on in earnest, specific questions were being discussed, and the work continued.

Officials Begin Activities at UN General Assembly

Tudjman, Izetbegovic Discuss 'Cooperation'

AU2109182192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic started his activities at the 47th session of the UN General Assembly this morning by meeting Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. This was the first in a series of meetings with statesmen who also are attending the session.

The two presidents had a working breakfast and exchanged views on the situation in the two neighboring countries. They paid special attention to future cooperation in light of intensified aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina, which occasionally spreads onto Croatian territory.

The two presidents agreed to continue the negotiations on concrete cooperation very soon in adherence with the well-known agreement that they reached in Zagreb. Dr. Haris Silajdzic, foreign affairs minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, arrived in New York along with President Izetbegovic.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Bush Meet

AU2209091492 Sofia BTA in English 2046 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] New York, September 21 (BTA)—Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, who presides over the 47th session of the UN General Assembly, today held a meeting with U.S. President George Bush.

Mr. Ganev told Mr. Bush that the current General Assembly session should seek practical solutions to topical problems and important security concerns like the Yugoslav crisis. At the end of the meeting, Mr. Ganev stressed Bulgaria's desire to promote its relations with the United States.

The U.S. President assured the Bulgarian minister that he will help this promotion.

Acting in his capacity as president of the UN General Assembly session, Mr. Ganev today met with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana and President Violeta de Chamorro of Nicaragua.

Deputies Discuss Dismissal of Attorney General

AU1809170292 Tirana ATA in English 0804 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 18 (ATA)—On September 17, the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania discharged from the duty Mr. Maks Haxhia, attorney general. Upon the request the chairman of the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party, Mr. Ali Spahia made early last week, on September 17 the People's Assembly concentrated on the responsibility of the attorney general of the Republic in regard to the grave situation of criminality in our country. All the deputies of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party were absent at this sitting.

Deputy Rudolf Marku, who was the first to take the floor, accused the attorney general of sabotage and violation of justice, as it was the case in Fushe Arres, where there were 40 casualties; that of Sazan; Ramiz Alia's arrest, following pressure; is a proof revealing the Byzantine character of M. Haxhia. Deputy Bahri Bregu mentioned facts on criminality in the District of Korce shifting the responsibility on the attorney general for not discovering and punishing them. Arben Imami proposed to create a parliamentary commission to review the state of criminality in our country and in this context to consider the responsibility of Maksim Haxhia. Blerim Cela spoke on the need of a deep going reform in the organs of justice, proposing to expel from these organs those who have taken part in the political trials.

Uran Butka accused Mr. Haxhia of not finding the authors of murders in the border in the District of Kolonje and in the southern border. Teodor Laco said that we must be very severe in the fight against criminality and supported the idea of creating a commission to review the situation. Azem Hajdari, after declaring that he was against the discharge of the attorney, said that responsible for criminality are the organs of justice and those of order as well, and appealed to the attorney general not to present his resignation.

Sadik Bejko, Abdi Baleta, Zef Brozi, Rrushen Golemi, Gezim Luli, Ali Spahia also pointed to the responsibility of the attorney general and requested the discharge.

There was nominal voting for the proposal presented by almost all the deputies in regard to the discharge of the attorney general of the Republic. The attorney general was discharged from his duty with 69 votes pro, four against, and four abstentions.

Alia Under House Arrest, Telephone Line Cut

AU1609112892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1000 GMT 16 Aug 92

[Text] It is not yet clear whether the former president, Ramiz Alia, who has been under house arrest since last 12 September, will be tried only for abuse or whether there will be a political trial. Alia is confined in his house and since 20 September his telephone line has been cut. The armed police who used to guard him have been replaced by armed civilians.

Some sources report that Alia is allowed to leave the house with an escort but only to go to the Investigator's Office in Tirana, or to see his doctor. Other sources confirm that Alia demanded to go to Switzerland for health reasons last week, but this was refused.

Alia's arrest was received by indifference in Tirana. Meanwhile, we have learned that his defense counsel will be Kleathi Koci, former Supreme Court president in Alia's time.

Accord With Turkey on Diplomatic, Business Visas

AU1909143492 Tirana ATA in English 0811 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 19 (ATA)—In order to facilitate the movement of their nationals who have diplomatic passports and passports for business, Albania and Turkey agreed to lift visas.

In a ceremony held on September 18 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the presence of the Albanian deputy foreign minister, Arian Starova and the Turkish Ambassador in Tirana, Metin Ornekol, the respective notes were exchanged related to the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Turkey to avoid visas for the holders of these passports. This agreement enters into force after 30 days.

Accord on Turkish Oil Delivery to Macedonia Denied

AU2209071492 Sofia BTA in English 2113 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—In connection with reports of the AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE and TANJUG on Bulgarian mediation in the provision of oil supplies from Turkey to the Republic of Macedonia, BTA learnt from the Ministry of Industry that negotiations were being held on the matter but no agreement had been reached yet.

The AFP and TANJUG today quoted Macedonian Prime Minister Jovan Andonov as saying that Bulgaria will organize the transportation of 26,000 tonnes of petroleum products from Turkey to Macedonia which is cut off from oil deliveries because of a blockade imposed by Greece.

Moldovan Minister Asked About Bulgarian Minority

AU2109084392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Sep 92 p 6

[Interview with Moldovan Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu by DUMA correspondent Stoyan Radev; place and date not given: "Our Countries Are Neighbors, and We Must Utilize This to the Maximum"]

[Excerpts] Recently, the Republics of Bulgaria and Moldova signed a Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation. A Moldovan state delegation led by President of the Republic Mircea Snegur visited Bulgaria to sign the treaty. The treaty between the two independent states also covers issues directly connected with the fate of the Bulgarian minority living in Moldova that numbers many thousands. According to official data, 89,000 Bulgarians live there.

The Moldovan delegation included Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu. He studied in Bulgaria, speaks Bulgarian, and is interested in Bulgaria's experience.

[Radev] Mr. Minister, would you comment on the decree issued by Moldovan President Mircea Snegur concerning the rights of the Bulgarians in Moldova? How do you assess the state of relations between the Moldovan people and the Bulgarian community in your Republic?

[Tiu] In my view, the Moldovan president's decree "Concerning Certain Measures for the Development of Bulgarian National Culture" is of great importance.

First, it enshrines in law and brings within a specific juridical framework the existing reality of the Moldovans' friendly attitude toward the Bulgarian minority in the Republic. By tradition we have always lived with the Bulgarians in mutual understanding, which, I am convinced, opens considerable opportunities for mutual cooperation between the Republics of Moldova and Bulgaria.

Second, this decree constitutes an argument in favor of the firm determination of our country's leadership to build up and maintain civilized relations with the nationalities living with us in our country, in conformity with the norms of international law. [passage omitted]

The decree helps the Bulgarians in Moldova to develop their national self-awareness, and this process is having a positive influence on the psychological and moral atmosphere of our society. The Bulgarian community has the possibility of working even more actively to resolve the issues connected with its ethnic, cultural, and intellectual development.

To sum up, we consider that the mutual relations with the Bulgarian minority are stable, friendly, and promise much in the future. [passage omitted]

[Radev] How would you describe the relations between Moldova and Bulgaria? Where do you see the greatest prospects for cooperation between the two states in the near and more distant future?

[Tiu] If I had to try to answer your question in a single sentence, I would say that the relations between our countries correspond to the possibilities that they possess. Of course, I realize that Bulgarian-Moldovan relations are too complex and polemical in nature for the mechanism to be able to operate faultlessly. Simultaneously with the collapse of the former USSR and the demise of the communist regime in Bulgaria, certain ties and economic structures also disintegrated. Now, we have to make a new start in many respects, in view of the qualitatively new situation. Nonetheless, I may assert that the relations between our countries are developing at an increasing tempo on the basis of mutual interest. Our countries are almost neighbors, and this fact provides certain advantages that we should utilize to the maximum. Apart from this, Moldova and Bulgaria are basically industrial-agrarian countries, and they could concentrate their interests in such fields as vineyard cultivation, progressive technologies, the food industry, and raw material processing. The development of joint Moldovan-Bulgarian enterprises may also form one of the most important components of our cooperation.

Elimination of Danube Minesweeping Craft Explained

AU2209112592 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Sep 92 p 1

[Staff report: "Navy Will Not Maintain Vessels on the Danube River"]

[Text] In connection with the reports published in certain mass media concerning the elimination of the Danube flotilla, the Naval Command announced that the Danube flotilla has not existed since 1960. In fact, even before this it could hardly be called a flotilla. Its forces were insignificant, and its combat capabilities low. The flotilla existed at the end of the 19th and

beginning of the 20th century, when it consisted of four old steamships and seven launches. The flotilla did not exist from 1913 to 1951. In 1951, the USSR supplied 10 old armor-plated launches and six small minesweeping craft. After these went to the scrap yard in 1960 because there was no need for such combat units on the Danube River, the flotilla was disbanded, and the minesweeping craft were handed over to the Border Troops.

In 1989, a group was formed on the Danube River, consisting of the same six small minesweeping craft. They had been manufactured in 1954 and were each armed with a single machinegun. Their minesweeping capabilities are limited. While the Warsaw Pact was in force, and in accordance with the plans for troops to cross the Danube with the aid of pontoons, we were obliged to maintain vessels to protect them, but under the new conditions this is no longer necessary.

In the naval section of the concept on the Bulgarian Army that has been approved by the Council of Ministers, this group of small craft is removed from the Navy's armed strength because it is not effective. In the theoretical case of a local conflict, ships and launches could not in practice be used on the Danube River.

If the need arises to clear mines in the Danube, which could be carried out after the end of a conflict, the Navy has the possibility of sending more modern small minesweeping craft into the Danube. The guarding of the borders along the Danube River is carried out by the Border Troops, not by the Navy. It is also possible that a Danube police force may be set up. The Navy recommended using vessels taken off its combat strength for border protection, but the suggestion was not accepted because of the ineffectiveness of the craft concerned. Some of the launches that remain on the Danube—in the possession of naval clubs and so on—will be subject to mobilization in case of need.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that every military unit costs a great deal of money, so that a unit can only be maintained if it has strictly defined functions that are of importance for our defense and if it is effective. Units of any other kind would be a pure extravagance. The Navy keeps no secrets from society. It has widely publicized its views on the tasks and composition of the fleet until the year 2000 (see the journal MORSKI PREGLED, issue No. 3 of 1992). The article in question sets out the arguments and indicates the forces that the Navy considers necessary for its fleet.

Dimitrov Denies 'Direct Clash' With Presidency

AU2109183392 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Before today's cabinet meeting in Sofia, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov declared to journalists that no direct clash exists between the Presidency, government, and parliament, and he added that, in all sincerity, the fatal boundaries had not been exceeded. According to the prime minister, the situation is natural and normal, but it will be unnatural if extraneous factors start to intrude.

Turk's Group 'Critical' of Savov, Dimitrov

AU1909125392 Sofia BTA in English 2030 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Report by Iva Toncheva and Orlin Dzhelepov: "SDS Conference: Call for Unity"]

[Text] Sofia, September 18 (BTA)—On the first day of the conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the Radical Democratic Party demanded the ruling coalition to take a clear stand on whether it supports the Filip Dimitrov government. The Radical Democrats insist that SDS's backing for Mr. Dimitrov be put to the vote. The party, which is represented in the cabinet by Culture Minister Elka Konstantinova, categorically demands that the meeting resolve that the ministers belonging to parties and organizations which disagree with the cabinet's policy should leave it.

Nothing was put to the vote on the first day of the conference, which is held behind closed doors. The parties in the coalition took nearly five hours to set forth their positions. It is still unclear whether it will come to a vote of the Radical Democratic Party's proposal. Furthermore, the Radical Democrats want the conference to take a categorical position that if parliament votes no confidence in the government, the SDS should refuse to form a new cabinet or to take part in a coalition or a caretaker government.

In their statements today, representatives of several parties demanded the SDS-affiliated parties and organizations to conclude a new political agreement. It is difficult to say whether the document, which the conference will adopt tomorrow, will provide for a new agreement. Speakers suggested that the document state SDS's attitude to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), which defends the interests of Bulgarian Turks. Participants in the conference told BTA that most speakers believe the SDS should take a hard line on the movement and make no concessions, now that the DPS together with MP's [members of parliament] of the former Communist Party has demanded the resignation of the National Assembly chairman.

In a greetings address to the conference, Prof. Dimitur Sepetliev of DPS lashed out against the government. He indicated that the DPS does not want to put an end to the DPS-SDS alliance but "does not want the DPS to be a voting machine in parliament, either." Prof. Sepetliev was critical not only of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov but also of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. The prime minister was accused of not consulting and coordinating important decisions with the DPS MP's and of ignoring their opinion on important questions. In a televised interview aired later in the day, DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi said that the movement will

introduce a motion of no confidence in the prime minister before parliament next week.

Leaders of parties in the coalition interrupted the DPS representative's statement at the conference with retorts and boos and hoots. Speakers who took the floor after Prof. Sepetliev explicitly urged the DPS to reconsider its stand.

Not everybody, however, favoured a hard line on the movement. Former Defence Minister Dimitur Ludzhev, a government critic, talked about bridges to the DPS. The leader of the Alternative Social Liberal Party Nikolay Vasilev insisted on an agreement with the DPS.

Asked by BTA whether the DPS is expected to review its position, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov made a non-committal comment. "Once things are not lost, they still can be rescued," he said, replying to a question whether he was optimistic in the current situation.

The participants in the conference seem unperturbed by the walkout staged by President Zhelev. SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov believes the president was simply looking for a pretext to leave. Politicians of the Alternative Social Liberal Party, who otherwise support Dr. Zhelev's criticism of the government, also disapprove of his conduct today.

Zhelev Replies to Kurtev Offer of SDS Meeting

AU2109193892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] My engagements did not permit me to receive the group appointed by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—this is stated in a letter from President Zhelyu Zhelev to SDS Chief Secretary Ivan Kurtev, in response to the latter's invitation to meet with the contact group to discuss the political situation in our country.

To ensure that the conversation is more constructive, I would like to acquaint myself with the materials on all the statements and speeches made at the SDS political conference, and the day and hour for holding the meeting will be fixed after I receive these materials, the president states in his letter.

Prosecutor Wants To Strip Politician of Immunity

AU2209091792 Sofia BTA in English 2110 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—The Prosecutor General's Office of the Republic of Bulgaria today submitted to the National Assembly a request from the prosecutor general of the Republic to strip Dimitur Velev Dimitrov MP [member of parliament] of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] of his parliamentary immunity.

The document says that the Prosecutor General's Office has sufficient information establishing that in 1989 the said Dimitur Velev Dimitrov, acting in his capacity as secretary of the Executive Committee of the Regional People's Council in Khaskovo, committed an offense by issuing orders and making arrangements in complicity with other senior public officials of the municipality for the unlawful demolition of residential buildings and the seizure of the property of Bulgarian citizens of Turkish ethnicity who had left for Turkey.

Disclosure of 'Spy List' Investigation Ordered

AU2209083092 Sofia BTA in English 2048 GMT 21 Sep 92

["How Far Has 'Spy List' Investigation Gone?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—"Any disclosure of information constituting a state secret in what is known as 'that list' is out of the question," said Lieutenant Colonel Ani Kruleva, chief of the National Investigative Service, in a statement on National Radio today. The investigation was prompted by press allegations that a foreign embassy had in its possession a list of Bulgarian Foreign Ministry officials working for the Security Services. The press reports implicated Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] leader Ahmed Dogan in the case.

Lieutenant Colonel Kruleva specified that she was making public the results achieved by the investigation so far at the request of President Zhelyu Zhelev who assumed a commitment to the Consultative Council for National Security with the Office of the President in March 1992 and in view of the heightened public interest in this case. At the political conference which the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) ended yesterday [20 September], the union also insisted on the disclosure of the whole truth about that scandal.

The investigators found that 80 percent of the information contained in "that list" which surfaced in December 1991 had already appeared in the press in early 1991 and that that information had been widely publicized by SDS members and reporters back at the beginning of 1991.

The investigators interviewed Mr. Vladimir Filipov, now Bulgarian ambassador in Lisbon, who testified that he and his SDS colleagues had gathered that information in 1990 and 1991 but he denied that there was anything secret about it. The underlying idea was to show the public that the communist nomenklatura was still entrenched in the Foreign Ministry. This information was confirmed by other witnesses.

The investigators found that the press scenario about the passing of the "spy list" to Stoyan Ganev and Ahmed Dogan did not correspond to the truth. For the time being, the investigation has been unable to track down the initiator of putting the list back into play in December 1991 with the purpose of disturbing the MP's, the institutions and the president by a direct implication of Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and DPS leader

Ahmed Dogan who was accused in the press of having passed the information to Turkish diplomats.

Unpublished Treaty With Russia Analyzed

AU2109095992 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by Mikhail Konstantinov and Nikolay Vulchanov: "Further Comments on the Treaty Between Bulgaria and Russia"]

[Text] In place of an introduction, let us remind ourselves that on 4 August 1992 the presidents of Bulgaria and Russia signed the new treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between the former little and big brothers, after CEMA and the Warsaw Pact had been consigned to the military-political graveyard. This ensured continuity in the treaty relations between Bulgaria and the heir of the country of conquered socialism—Russia. The signing of the treaty was preceded by an intense propaganda simulation of glasnost, with the Foreign Ministry being involved in the procedures for preparing the treaty, despite the fact that not a single clause of the text of the signed treaty has yet reached the Bulgarian public (for the Russian public, the treaty is no doubt the last thing that worries them).

In practice, however, the text of the treaty was totally under the control of the Presidency. Despite the vague definition of the president's powers in the Constitution, this might have been no bad thing, had the president's advisers not included the person of Ventsel Raychev, who is well-known to DEMOKRATSIYA readers under his nickname of "the Gray one," and to the listeners of the Khristo Botev Radio Network for the fact that his daughter-in-law is Viza Nedyalkova, star of the "Post Factum" program. On 19 August 1991, when the Moscow coupsters had cut off all Yeltsin's telephone lines, Bulgarian President Zhelev managed to get through to Yeltsin on the telephone because the connection was provided by the self-same Ventsel Raychev. Zhelev admitted as much himself in an interview on Russian television. However, in the reportage transmitted by Bulgarian national television, this passage was deleted! It thereby became clear that the work on the new treaty between Bulgaria and the heir of the Russian Empire and the USSR was under the control of Ventsel Raychev, the KGB resident in Bulgaria.

On the other hand, the treaty signed by Zhelev and Yeltsin was not discussed at a session of the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission.

The above-mentioned facts were the precise reason why on 6 August the first alarm signal sounded: Mr. V. Petrov issued a warning on the pages of the RANNO UTRO ["Early Morning"] newspaper that the National Assembly's ratification of the treaty would not be a mere formality. The strange feature of this incident was the reaction of the spokesmen of the Foreign Ministry and the Presidency, who on 7 August fell over themselves to assure the Bulgarian radio listeners that the treaty was prepared with the broad participation (!?) of the Bulgarian public. Regarding this we can only say that our requests to examine the draft text of the treaty were declined.

The last items on the subject published in RANNO UTRO were left unanswered. They contained substantive information based on a text of the treaty that Radio Free Europe kindly made available to us, but which carries no signatures. We will now offer our comments on this text, which for the sake of brevity we will call the treaty.

The preamble to the treaty states that "the traditions of friendly relations between the peoples of the two states" and "the positive experience of their cooperation" formed the grounds for concluding the treaty. In our opinion, however, a much more important consideration in favor of concluding a new treaty between Bulgaria and Russia is the existence of negative experience in the previous relations between the two states—there is no need to enumerate the aspects of this negative experience, since every normal person is well aware of them.

A first quick look through the treaty text does not reveal any striking discrepancies with the international practice relating to bilateral treaties. However, one only has to read through the complete text to sense that something is wrong.

Articles 8-12 and 15 define the areas in which the parties to the treaty will effect their cooperation. However, the wording of Article 8 provides good grounds for alarm, and therefore we will permit ourselves to quote it in full: "The parties to the treaty are prepared to comprehensively promote the strengthening of cooperation between the parliaments and the other organs of state power at all levels, as well as cooperation between the administrative-territorial units. The parties to the treaty will promote the expansion of contacts and interaction between the citizens of the two states." It is this phrase "at all levels" that is perturbing, against the background of the enumeration of the structures that will cooperate with one another because this is the precise manner in which cooperation is legally regulated between all the multifarious secret and open structures that succeeded the KGB and the Bulgarian State Security.

Article 6 also conceals similar dangers. It states as follows: "The parties to the treaty will develop bilateral relations in all fields of mutual interest. They consider it necessary to create a mechanism for regular contacts at different levels, including summit meetings. The parties to the treaty express the wish to implement cooperation in the military-technical field, the specific parameters of which are to be specified by appropriate agreements." One has to ask what is the difference between cooperation in the military-technical field (as in the present treaty) and cooperation in the military-political field (as in the previous treaty). This is all the more relevant in

view of the fact that Russia is already selling ultra-modern weapons, Mig-31 and Sukhoy-27 warplanes included, on the world market.

However, the most important question is: What are these "appropriate agreements"? Does this mean the secret clauses and protocols that we know from the past? Where will this lead us now? We would point out that supplementary agreements are also permitted under Article 13, concerning minority problems.

Part of the contents of Article 5 also causes perplexity: "The parties to the treaty will not permit their territory to be sued for armed attack or other violent acts against the second party to the treaty...." We will recall that in March 1990 Soviet forces entered the Lithuanian capital and killed and wounded many citizens. In Sofia a peace demonstration was organized outside the Soviet Embassy as a mark of protest against the aggression. However, such a demonstration can very easily be described as a "violent act," and Bulgaria might be penalized under Article 5.

Of course, comments may also be made on the wording of the other articles, such as in connection with the effect of the treaty and the absence of clauses setting deadlines and methods for settling outstanding debts between the two states, but we will not deal with this here.

There is no need to convince ourselves that Bulgaria gains benefits from economic relations with Russia, Ukraine, and other states of the disintegrated Soviet empire which, although not a model for democracy, is at least striving in this direction. We are also aware that every country keeps to its markets and sources of (possibly) cheap raw materials, but this does not mean that we should remain hostages to Russian oil. It is ridiculous to think that our economic policy may again rely on the sale of low-quality goods produced with technologies that are far less energy-efficient than those used by producers competing with us (including the Russian market!).

The high level of interest in the Bulgarian-Russian treaty is due to the exceptional burdens of the past history of relations between Bulgaria, on the one side, and the Russian Empire and the USSR, on the other. We sincerely want the new treaty between Bulgaria and Russia to mark the start of normal bilateral relations between the two states. For this reason, we recommend the National Assembly deputies to devote the necessary attention to the ratification of the treaty. We believe that, before the treaty is ratified, amendments should be made to the normative documents concerning state secrets, so that it becomes possible to publish the treaty. Prior to ratification, it is also necessary to pass a law on the secret services, with the aim of putting a stop to KGB spying in Bulgaria. Finally, the National Assembly should ratify every supplementary agreement added to the treaty.

Klaus: French Vote Reveals 'Terrible Split'

LD2109191892 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] [Announcer] Western Europe has made another substantial step toward integration by yesterday's vote in France. I asked Prime Minister Klaus for his views on how Maastricht can affect Czechoslovakia in the future.

[Begin Klaus recording] I would first say that I am not sure that with a ratio of 50-something to 49-something that Europe has made an essential step. On the contrary, yesterday's referendum showed that Europe is terribly split. Sometimes there is a debate in the event of an 80-20 percent result where the majority does something substantial against the minority. In this event of 50-50, were I a French politician I would almost be inclined to call it a draw. The government is now faced with the ensuing task of starting anew. I think that the majority of the world's press assesses it in this way, at least from what I have seen in various papers that I could borrow on the aircraft from Frankfurt. I think this is how the world assesses the result, too. [end recording]

Klaus on U.S. Visit, 'Absurdly Close' French Vote

LD2109141192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that in his view the preparatory work on the recent offer from U.S. President George Bush to open a free trade zone has begun. On his arrival from the United States today, Vaclav Klaus said that the offer has above all psychological and symbolic significance.

Klaus went on to say that in recent weeks great doubts have been raised as to whether the European nations want the Maastricht Treaty. The whole currency crisis, Klaus said, signals that any forced attempt to establish a single currency could have no chance of success in the near future because the economic situation is different from one EC country to the next. Vaclav Klaus said that the 20 September French referendum with its absurdly close result in favor of Maastricht essentially confirmed the above.

Klaus Interviewed on Topical Issues

AU2209091592 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 17 Sep 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Jiri Patocka and Martin Schmarcz; place and date not given: "Domestic Policy Is the Basis"]

[Text] [CESKY DENIK] The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] Executive Council held a meeting on ODS statutes recently. Can a significant change be expected in these statutes?

[Klaus] I do not think any great amendments to the statutes will be introduced. Of course, there are several commissions working on the final touches to the statutes, but the basic logic adopted by the party will certainly not change, since this party grows from below, and not in parliament. We are aware of the fact that we had greatest support in localities and communities, and we are not going to change anything about that.

[CESKY DENIK] This is linked to the problem of local elections. Will the ODS attempt to expand its membership base?

[Klaus] We would certainly welcome new members, but we are not going to launch a campaign, certainly not.

[CESKY DENIK] The Czech Republic will have to build its own political and economic relations, which do not necessarily have to be in harmony with the previous policy of the federation. Do you prefer integration in the sphere of free trade, or a customs union within the framework of the Viszegrad Three—even before joining the EC—or should these processes run in parallel? Should the Czech Republic implement its own economic policy?

[Klaus] Of course, the basis is our own economic, and not only economic policy. Here lie the foundations of the house we are building. If we succeeded—through our sensible domestic policy—in building bilateral relations, then it would be perfect, and we are in favor of it, of course. But, bilateral relations are only the first floor above the basement. Another floor can be built above the floor of bilateral relations—a floor of more-than-bilateral [vice nez bilateralni] relations. Whether relations are established with a group of several Central European countries, or within a larger entity, such as the EC, will depend on the process that we are attempting, and will attempt day after day. Ambitions—defined beforehand—of our foreign policy (I mean foreign and economic policy of the past, when we were building the third floor without having built solid foundations) seem to be dubious to me. Last week I was visiting the Ostrava region and I heard about establishing a Euro-region between a part of northern Moravia and Silesia. This is exactly the third way in general policy and foreign policy. Ostrava has problems communicating with Karvina and Opava, that is, with neighboring cities. Despite this, before establishing sufficiently clear relations, they want to establish a union with Katowice. This is a classic example of jumping over some stages.

[CESKY DENIK] Are we to understand that the domestic policy should be clarified first, and then relations with neighboring countries should be established in an attempt at integrating ourselves into larger units?

[Klaus] We have to distinguish between historical time and logical [logicky] time. Individual processes may take place simultaneously in historical time, but the logical time is what matters—the principles of these steps and attitudes. If I am not able to reach an agreement with Slovakia—or with Moravia, for example—it would be ludicrous to try to reach an agreement with Poland or Hungary. If someone does not accept this as a principle

and says that we are not European enough, then he is missing, I believe, the core of the problem.

[CESKY DENIK] Do you believe that it is realistic that the validity of the Agreement on Customs and Trade with the EC could be renewed at least until the independent Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic are established?

[Klaus] We have to seek to achieve this at any price. However, not only this agreement is involved, but a number of other similar agreements of similar significance. For me, the GATT (a worldwide agreement on customs and trade—editorial note) is much more important than association treaties with the EC. No less important is the IMF. On 14 September, I had a meeting with the IMF mission on how to arrange a continuous transfer of the federation's membership in the IMF to the two republics without any delay. On 19 September, we will discuss it in Washington with the IMF executive director.

[CESKY DENIK] Do you support the opinion that the membership of the Czech Republic in international organizations—about which you have spoken—or the transfer of the association treaty with the EC to both republics could be jeopardized by unilateral steps taken by the Slovak Republic in economic policy—is there a danger that the Slovak side would take such steps?

[Klaus] I have said many times that in the Czech lands the Slovak policy is seen from only one side. We have the inclination to explain it in the most negative terms, more negative than it really is. It is exactly in the economic sphere where this inclination mostly appears. I believe that it is becoming more and more apparent that our attitude does not have to be so different from that of the Slovaks. Slovakia objected to our policy because it came from Prague—or this is the way they felt—and because they themselves were not creating it.

[CESKY DENIK] The opposition—Milos Zeman, among others—suggests that even before the termination of the federation a treaty analogous to the Maastricht Treaty be concluded between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Do you consider this realistic?

[Klaus] This is absolute nonsense. We have said many times—and I believe that the majority of the people, too, see it that way—that we are not going to conclude any kind of Maastricht Treaty, or association treaty, with Slovakia as a whole. We will conclude—and we are intensively working on it—agreement in individual spheres, for instance, an agreement on customs and an agreement on a special citizenship status between the two countries, but we will not conclude a general agreement. I also believe that the Slovak side, too, has repeated it many times. These ideas are, I believe, renewed attempts at building duplexes [allusion to former Czech prime minister's expression used for the form of Czech-Slovak coexistence] and dual-states. Only the words have changed, but the content remains the same.

[CESKY DENIK] You spoke about many treaties. In this connection, we should mention your visit to Ostrava, where you spoke with a director of a Slovak enterprise, who said that the minister of his sector told him to find himself a sub-supplier in Slovakia, instead of a Czech supplier, despite the fact that Slovak deliveries were more expensive. Do you consider this to be a coincidence or a disquieting indication?

[Klaus] It is a disquieting indication, but I am unable to say how much weight it has.

[CESKY DENIK] Last week, representatives of the Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party said that the ratio according to which the division will be made will be 2 to 1, and that this is magnanimous from the Czech side, since a more just ratio would be 2.25 to 1, or even 2.5 to 1. Is this ratio magnanimous? If so, then why did we have to accept it?

[Klaus] First, no one has accepted anything. People are confusing—and our press, too—discussions and bilateral talks and in the government with what has been adopted by the legislative organs. As far as I know, no legislative organ discussed it, and I myself have not spoken about the 2 to 1 ratio very often. I understand it only as a tentative and general figure and I am convinced that in reality we cannot move far away from it. However, it is not true that I have decided something.

[CESKY DENIK] Last week, you criticized the bankruptcy law as being improper for the period of transformation. The Czech Government is preparing an amendment that would postpone its entering into force by six months. Does that mean that in the upcoming period you are going to leave the initiation of bankruptcies up to the banks' decisions?

[Klaus] You are ahead of the situation. We have established a group on a really high level who are soon to analyze the situation, compare alternative methods of solutions, and find out what the state has already done for the enterprises. We have received a large number of partial suggestions on how to solve the problem of bankruptcies. They are always proposed by someone to whom it would bring advantages. The banks want to heal their wounds to the detriment of enterprises, and they submitted their proposal. Foreign investors who are interested in acquiring the maximum capital in the Czech Republic suggest another method. Enterprises that want to protect themselves against both of them, suggest yet another. The commission must compile a document in a short period of time, the first version of which I would like to discuss in two or three weeks. It is obvious that the existing bankruptcy law is absolutely insensitive and ill-suited to be simply applied in reality.

[CESKY DENIK] You have mentioned banks. Are you satisfied with the policy of our commercial banks?

[Klaus] I must stress that our world has changed and we are not administering commercial banks, we have no right to give them any orders. I am dissatisfied with

many things, and I talk about it with the chiefs of the banks when I meet them, but we do not live, any longer, in a world in which the government could have a fundamental say in this sphere.

[CESKY DENIK] I was interested in your personal opinion.

[Klaus] Banks are playing a rather insensitive game, as insensitive as the bankruptcy law is. It is one thing to play the role of a commercial bank in a normal environment, and another thing to play it in this world. To adopt an attitude of an all-important bank and to deal with contempt with enterprises that want to become its clients—and the banks have to face the same problems as their clients—is, in my opinion, not a way to solve the Czechoslovak transformation problem. I have many objections: Banks lack a payment transfer system, they are insensitive, and prefer to deal with established partners rather than making deals with new partners, and so on. However, these are general accusations that should be rendered more specific and expressed numerically.

[CESKY DENIK] President Bush suggested, within his election campaign, that a free trade zone be established with countries of Central Europe. Do you think it would be useful to react to this proposal?

[Klaus] First, this was no proposal. It was an unspecific suggestion mentioned in his speech in Detroit on 10 September. Of the 13-page long speech, one section is devoted to this subject. This section says that President Bush would like to conclude free trade agreements with three groups of countries: Latin America, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, and with countries on the other side of the Pacific. No details were given—not a word on how and when to do it—and no priorities were given. I think it is only an idea and it is impossible to comment on it in detail.

[CESKY DENIK] After the meeting of the ODS Executive Council in Libhost, you said that the quality of the constitution is more important than its early adoption. Can we infer from this that you believe that it would be possible for the state to function without a constitution if the Czech Republic Constitution is not adopted before the partition of the federation?

[Klaus] First, it would be technically possible. We know very well that we had a constitution in Czechoslovakia only in 1920, and not on 29 October 1918, as say those who state that we would not know what to do in this country on 2 January if we do not have a constitution on that day. Of course, it is possible to function without a constitution—we have drawn scenarios and laws that the Czech National Council would have to pass and that would make it possible to carry on a normal life in this country. The second thing is a psychological one and is much more important to me. I believe that for this reason it would be more useful if we had our constitution by the end of 1992, that is, at least half a minute before midnight of 31 December. Still, we must watch out not to be pressed by some fundamentalists to adopt solutions that are unnecessary. When we, as the government, took the liberty to object to the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms being included in the constitution—which seems grotesque to me—we were told that if we do not sign *this* Charter, then we would be excommunicated from the Council of Europe. I declare here that in the Charter I saw, for example, a section reflecting the ideal of the socialist perestroika in the health care system—it says that people have the right to chose their own doctor and health center. I can imagine that this was a topical issue before 17 November 1989, when we were restricted to our district doctors and health centers. To say that this Charter should be part and parcel of the constitution and that its non- acceptance would mean blocking our EC Council membership its absolutely erroneous, it is an idea that our leftist opposition tries to force upon us. As regards the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms as such, it would be good to have it in the constitution. However, we must not try to convince the public that this is a condition for our recognition by Europe. Polish Prime Minister Suchocka, who herself is a legal expert on constitutions, told me in a conversation that Poland does not have any such Charter in its constitution—they were unable to conclude an agreement on this matter, and there is no such thing in Poland. I am not saying that this is an ideal situation, and that we should copy Poland in that matter, on the contrary. I am saying so just because some are trying to persuade us that we cannot possibly exist a day without a Charter.

[CESKY DENIK] What is your opinion on the Senate, how badly do we need it, and what are the conditions under which the Senate should be established?

[Klaus] I, personally, am not fully convinced of the necessity of having a senate as an insurance. Nevertheless, there are deadly serious things for which I have the feeling that I must spent all my energy getting them either passed or rejected, since if we make a serious mistake in their case, it might have a significant impact on the further development in our country. I do not believe that the question of the senate is of principal importance, and I do not consider the yes or no on this subject to be fatal.

[CESKY DENIK] An immediate solution to the land and administrative arrangement is not that kind of question, is it? The most recent draft constitution drawn by the government commission only provides for the division of the Czech Republic into communities and higher self-administrative units.

[Klaus] I principally believe that there is no reason to speed this matter up. It is not necessary. It would be good if we could solve this problem by consensus. However, if we fail to find a consensus then I think that the most proper thing would be to postpone the matter and build the consensus gradually, and not to force a solution by consensus, which would be a source of permanent difficulties in the future.

Czech Minister Views Position of Security Service

AU2209114392 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Sep 92 p 2

[Interview with Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml by Marie Kurkova in Prague on 17 September: "An Accord Is Certain"]

[Text] Seven commissions have been charged with preparing the division of the Federal Interior Ministry so that on the day the federation is partitioned, the Federal Interior Ministry's powers can be transferred to republic interior ministries. "The continuity of security will be ensured. We are going to prepare the orders to that effect before the year's end," said Peter Cermak after a meeting yesterday with his republic counterparts—Jan Ruml and Jozef Tuchyna. All three ministers agreed that the commissions are working responsibly and from the talks, it can be seen that there is a will to reach an agreement.

Despite the fact that the partition of the secret service does not fall within the jurisdiction of the interior ministries, we asked Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml what was his idea about the secret service's position within the Czech Republic.

[Ruml] The position of a secret service within the structure of the state administration depends on whether it has a character of intelligence or counterintelligence service, or whether it is a military intelligence service. As long as we speak about the future of the Federal Security and Intelligence Service we assume that it will be divided into a Czech and a Slovak intelligence service. The Czech Security and Information Service will be established by a separate law and in the years to come, it will become an independent state body, which will secure the counterintelligence protection of the Czech Republic.

[Kurkova] Sir, is it correct, in your opinion, that the Czech counterintelligence service will be separate from the Czech Interior Ministry?

[Ruml] It is not correct, in my opinion. Counterintelligence services are usually incorporated within the Interior Ministry, which also covers its needs. The independence of our security service after November 1989 was the result of political reasons—since the former State Security was part of the Federal Interior Ministry, information and executive power was concentrated in the same hands....

[Kurkova] The new structure of the Federal Interior Ministry has eliminated this danger, and the political climate has also changed. Have the fears that our secret service could be misused disappeared?

[Ruml] In my opinion, they have. It will take time before the counterintelligence service is reincorporated into the structure of the Interior Ministry. Czech National Council deputies should answer this question, however.

[Kurkova] What about the intelligence service?

[Ruml] The intelligence service is part of the Federal Interior Ministry and will be divided according to the 2:1 ratio. Every state needs an intelligence service in order to make decisions. This part of the intelligence services should be administered directly by the prime minister in the future.

Meciar Views Soccer Incident, Division of Assets

LD2109112692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Magda Pospisilova; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Pospisilova] Sport often becomes political. We saw this after the European Cup Winners' Cup match in Bratislava. Prime Minister, how do you view the news that two fans died—which was broadcast by Hungarian Radio—and the words of Hungarian trainer Nyilasi saying that brown uniforms and black masks invoked fascism for him? Do you think that the intervention of our policemen was appropriate? Are some Hungarian voices, which have condemned the fierceness of this supression, not right after all?

[Meciar] On the day that the soccer game took place, I visited the office of the Slovak press agency. A reporter approached me saying that she had been instructed by Prague that very morning to only photograph skirmishes, and that those were the only things of interest. Before the match I received information that the Hungarian police, knowing its fans, were taking extraordinary measures to cover the area all the way to the border and that its members would even be mingling with the fans to be able to collect documentation on the most aggressive ones, at least. The Slovak police intervened in the way that they were bound by law. If someone disrupts public order and attacks police officers, it is the duty of the police to intervene and put things right. No breach of regulations took place nor has been proven to have taken place. No news of serious injuries or anything similar has been confirmed. People who visit us with goodwill will receive a guest's welcome. People who want to break our laws and disrupt our public order have to reckon that they will be treated as disrupters.

The propaganda that has been created is nothing new. Essentially, pretexts such as this are used in many instances. The evaluation of what is legal and the decision about the law are not in my hands; however, I approve of action taken by anybody who intervenes in the name of protecting the public and in the interest of keeping order.

[Pospisilova] [passage omitted] Why, Mr. Prime Minister, do you not inititate adoption of the three linked laws in the opposite sequence; that is, first the law on the division of powers [kompetencni zakon], then the law on the division of property, and only then the procedures for dissolution of the Federation?

[Meciar] The bills were submitted to the Federal Assembly in the order in which they were drafted by the Federal Government. As for the bill on the procedures for dissolution of the Federation, the part that is important is where it says that regardless of the manner of dissolution adopted, the Slovak and the Czech Republics will become the successor states. The law on the division of property draws on this fact. If the termination of the Federation is caused by the secession of one republic, then the successor would be the republic that did not secede. That is why the stipulation on the procedures leading to the dissolution is decisive for the other law, which ensues from it.

There are difficulties due to the fact that we cannot ensure its inclusion in the agenda. The presidium did not approve these bills. If they are not adopted, it may happen that the Federal Assembly will not even reconvene because in that event, our deputies will not be present at the debate. The matter at stake is that both sides have agreed that the process of the transformation from a federative form to another type will be regulated and the sequence of steps ensured. If many parties are currently speculating with this aspect, then they are losing the time horizon and are preventing regulation. Adoption of these laws is the condition for the signing in October of an effective treaty on future relations between the Slovak Republic and Czech Republic, and both sides are working on this treaty very diligently and with great determination. So, it means that the opposing parties are screaming about democracy but are not screaming about responsibility and reason. They are seeking ways to postpone the whole thing, to arrive at an unregulated and chaotic state that is unfavorable for both sides. If the opposition manages to block adoption of these bills or to prevent their inclusion on the agenda, then we do not want to take part in such a game and will recommend that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia deputies leave the session.

I expect to meet Mr. Klaus and I will propose a similar solution for the Civic Democratic Party deputies. These two parties bear the responsibility. The others may democratically impede us and change stands but at such a moment, no one has the right to gamble with the basic interests of the people of the two republics.

[Pospisilova] You confirmed your planned meeting with Vaclav Klaus a while ago. Could you specify when it will be, where it will take place, and so on?

[Meciar] The information published in the newspapers....

[Pospisilova, interrupting] It said that it was to be before the next Federal Assembly session on 22 September.

[Meciar] It is not reliable information since no one spoke with me about the meeting with Mr. Klaus. No date was agreed, the will of both parties was not expressed, and no agenda for the talks was prepared. All that is still to be decided independent of such reports since we have agreed at the end of our last talks in Brno that if the situation in the Federal Assembly becomes more complicated and if there is the threat of a block, we would both meet and try to solve the problem by coordinating the steps of both movements.

[Pospisilova] A discussion full of contradictions has broken out concerning the ratio in which the assets are going to be divided between the Republics. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] We looked at nine variants. We looked for a just one that would damage neither one side nor the other. The territorial principle was adopted—i.e. the assets are going to be preserved on the territory where they are currently located. A settlement of accounts is going to be expressed in book values and here, the ratio is 2:1. Taking into account the fact that these assets represent several billions of korunas, then a just settlement is the condition for good relations in the future, or at least, for an uncomplicated start to our future cooperation.

The striving for the 1:3 criteria smacks a bit of nationalism when Slovakia's share in the creation of common resources—which can be objectively proved—is being underestimated, while the 1:1.5 or 1:1 ratio is the other extreme. Thus, our agreement is the result of all sorts of these things.

This becomes a more complicated issue once it concerns weapon systems, where the firepower, destructive power, targeting, etc. have to be taken into account. Thus, all these criteria are pointing out how to proceed.

It is also necessary to take into account that these laws will not be binding for the Czech and Slovak Republics after 1 January 1993. They will be perceived only as a point of reference, not as an internal regulation, since a relationship between two states will be involved. Federal laws will no longer be appropriate to regulate actions by two new sovereign subjects. Thus, a clarification of these rules is part of a strategy and confirmation of goodwill to formulate our future relations.

Even if we conclude an agreement between the Czech National Council and Slovak National Council in October—as I hope we will—such an agreement should be signed and subsequently ratified by the National Councils only on 1 January 1993 since along with the impact within the state, it will assume an international impact only after it becomes an international document.

[Pospisilova] You have said that one of the bones of contention when dividing assets in the future may be the Army. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] [passage omitted] There exist certain limiting factors that cannot be left as they are. First, the General Staff and the National Defense Ministry have suggested that they remain unchanged after 1 January 1993. That is out of the question. There have to be two national defense ministries. The states must control the Army. The Army cannot remain above the federation, or the

state once there is no federation. We do not want this and it will be one thing that will not happen.

The second thing is the consensus that the Army's division is very complex. [passage omitted]

The technical conditions, which must be met, cannot be fulfilled sooner than three years. This is the minimum period during which many joint tasks must remain lest the combat readinesss of both the Czech and Slovak armies is weakened.

We also assume that mutual trust will result in mutual readiness to support each other, in some sort of link, in defense of either territory. It seems to me that the Czech officials fancy themselves a little bit. They think, above all, that they could become a member of NATO relatively quickly. This would make it possible to include the Czech Republic under an umbrella. It would enable the Czech Republic to rapidly cut down on the number of soldiers and thus make economies. As far as I know, even NATO has its quotas.

Another element of doubt arises where independent foreign policy is concerned. They are worried that a conflict could flare up on Slovak borders as a result of bad [nekvalitna] Slovak policy. They would have to pay for it by being involved in defending the Slovak Republic. It cannot happen, as agreements can be concluded in this respect that would provide for foreign policy. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] Mr. Prime Minister, Radio Free Europe is said to be drafting a thank you letter for you as, according to THE WASHINGTON POST, the U.S. Congress will not abolish Free Europe broadcasting namely because of Slovakia, namely because of you personally.

[Meciar] If the U.S. Congress wishes to preserve its influence on the territory of Slovakia, the better thing to do would be to invest in its entrepreneurial intentions in Slovakia the money that it gives rather unproductively to Free Europe. Thus, both Americans and Slovaks would gain. As far as the institutions that are going to disappear are concerned, they defend themselves as they can. For some time now, an atmosphere has been created within Free Europe that is unfavorable toward all political development in Slovakia and also toward me. I am not the only one who they denigrate with evil intentions.

If Free Europe intends to represent real freedom in Europe, it cannot achieve this through freedom-denying disinformation. The freedom and rights of its editorial board end where the freedom and rights of the Slovaks as a nation and of Meciar as a person begin. It must not overstep the borders that were agreed upon. Many of its editors think they are allowed to do this. We think they are not. It is not my aim to fight with the editorial board. Let them live on what they are given, but for goodness sake, they should stop lying!

There are certain political realities, real political results here on which no doubt can be cast. To continue to present the Slovaks as fascists, separatists, and nationalists, to present this government as an undemocratic one has rather gone out of vogue in Europe now. Whoever is going to do this will look old-fashioned because those who come to our country will see that the life here is different. It is possible to cast doubt on our Constitution and demand money needed to do so abroad, to have somebody else pay for it, to make our community fall apart. Nevertheless, the pre-election period has already revealed what the lies bring. People are capable of thinking, appreciating, and assessing.

Thus, I do not think that Free Europe has a decisive influence on propaganda. It is a rather marginal institution. I do not think that its further existence is a condition for having democracy guaranteed. The Republic's citizens are a condition, not five or six editors who lend themselves for dirty work.

Meciar, Mine Union Leader Comment on Talks

LD2209020892 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] The unhappy situation in mining in Slovakia, which was not solved in a principled manner by any of the previous governments, became explosive after the recent mining disaster in Handlova. Furthermore, miners' income has dropped significantly. At the Slovak coal mines, they had to borrow money to be able to pay wages. There is also a lack of funds for social benefits and the development of substitute production.

That is the background to today's talks between representatives of the miners and [Slovak] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Economy Minister Ludovit Cernak. After the meeting Meciar and Marian Mesiarik, chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Association of Mining, Geology, and the Oil Industry, answered some questions from our colleague Marian Ondas.

[Begin recording] [Ondas] Mr. Prime Minister, what is your view of the future of Slovak mining after this almost two-hour meeting with the miners?

[Meciar] The tragic events in the Handlova mine increased social tension and emphasized the need for a comprehensive assessment of these issues. The participation of the trade unionists, mines management, and government representatives led to an agreement on the solution of three basic issues. We have divided them into two groups: The first is short-term issues, which must be solved to guarantee wages for the people so they can be paid for their work. These short-term measures also mean that some partial measures will be adopted to guarantee the safety of workers and to make the mines properly operational by the end of this year.

The long-term measures mean that by the end of the year comprehensive analyses of the situation will be drawn up in cooperation with experts, representatives of all the

departments, and the miners themselves. This will form a long-term forecast for the development of mining in Slovakia—coal, iron ore, and magnesite mining. The answer lies in privatizing the mines and a number of other measures on which we have agreed.

The social problems of miners, especially the bad situation in wages, which have experienced a sharp decline compared to the previous period, force us to solve some matters within the framework of tripartite bargaining between trade unionists, employers, and the government. It is not possible to solve mining problems separately from the energy concept. They also cannot be solved separately from long-term plans. From that point of view, what we save today could actually be a loss in the future.

Money can be poured in through two channels: one for the attenuation of production, the other for maintenance of operations. In both cases it means covering the costs from the state budget, so the most effective alternative must be chosen. This has yet to be discussed by experts, but today we opened the way for an acceleration of this process, in getting it organized. Minister Cernak will personally take charge, and I will also watch over it.

[Ondas] Mr. Mesiarik, are you satisfied with the talks in which Prime Minister Meciar also took part?

[Mesiarik] Well, I would prefer not to speak about satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The important thing is that we have agreed, that we have come to a common understanding. If we manage to explain what we have agreed upon at the mines, then I think there will be a certain calming effect. We will not only wait patiently; we will also assist the government and our management in fulfilling the agreements.

The nervousness is not only a nervousness which culminated in that unfortunate event; it is something which has been with us for more than a year and a half. We have not been able to solve the problems in the one and a half years since the velvet revolution. Now we have a chance. That is why I think that today we have given some kind of guarantee to the prime minister that we will observe social peace and that we are determined to preserve it so the government can have a chance to fulfill and resolve what it has promised through the words of the prime minister and Minister Cernak. [end recording]

Innocence of Registered Security Agents Reported

AU2209115792 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 16 Sep 92 p 2

["jem"-signed report: "Dead Souls by StB"]

[Excerpts] Prague—"In our experience, approximately 5 percent of the citizens registered as agents did not collaborate with the State Security," Jaroslav Basta, chairman of the Federal Interior Ministry's independent screening commission, added to his 16 September statement that being registered as an agent is not proof of conscious collaboration with State Security [StB]. [passage omitted]

To our question of how the independent commission obtained this data, Jaroslav Basta replied that it was obtained in the materials of people who were registered as candidates for secret collaboration. According to him, some records include an entry on "recruiting" an agent without any evidence of his activity. "According to Law 451, however, the Federal Interior Ministry must issue a certificate of positive screening even in these instances. The citizen may turn to the courts but, I believe, it would be more appropriate if our commission assessed these instances. We could then lodge a legal complaint against the StB workers who violated laws," Basta said.

Ministers Discuss Partition, Police Duties

AU2209102992 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Sep 92 p 2

[B. Janik report: "In the Slovak Republic They Will Abolish the Screening Law"]

[Excerpts] A second meeting of interior ministers began on 18 September and continued yesterday with a discussion that lasted almost the whole day. Ministers Cermak, Tuchyna, and Ruml gave a briefing on this meeting.

The ministers assessed the work of the commissions charged with preparing the division of the federal ministry. They gave them new tasks—for example, the commission charged with dividing the Office for Foreign Relations and Information will prepare by 10 October the practical partition of the office, and the legal commission will effectively transfer the employees into the employment of the republics. As all three ministers confirmed, there are no areas of friction between them. As of the end of October, everything will be clear regarding the division. [passage omitted]

On the subject of the screening law, Minister Tuchyna said that the Slovak Republic will abolish it by law. Minister Ruml added that this law will remain valid in the Czech Republic. The office dealing with screening will by administered by the Czech Interior Ministry. He admitted that there will be regular border police deployed on the borders between the Czech and Slovak Republics, as at any of the Czech Republic's other borders. The Slovak minister stressed that no supranational body will exist, but both sides will exchange police attaches, who will be responsible for liaison. At the Slovak Republic's Police Presidium, a group of people has been established that would deal with future cooperation. Such groups will be established for cooperation with all neighboring countries. Yesterday, Ministers Cermak and Tuchyna signed an agreement that has been lacking so far, the agreement on how the Rapid Deployment Unit would be used in Slovakia.

Banking Council Report Reveals Reserves Increase

AU2109135292 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Sep 92 p 3

["(MS)"-signed report: "Foreign Currency Reserves Have Increased"]

[Text] At its session yesterday, the Czechoslovak State Bank [SBCS] Banking Council discussed the possibilities for a monetary arrangement between the Czech and Slovak Republics. An expert report will be submitted to the CSFR, Czech, and Slovak prime ministers for consideration. It summarizes the necessary technical, legislative, and economic steps that—in the Banking Council's opinion—would guarantee the continuity of monetary stability during the course of monetary separation.

The Banking Council also discussed a report on the CSFR's Balance of Payments Development in the First Six Months of 1992. The report refers to the increase in exports and to the halt in the decline in imports. The overall surplus in the balance of payments current account amounts to $826.3 million. An overall influx of foreign capital amounting to $448 million is recorded in the capital account. Gross indebtedness had increased by approximately $400 million to $9.8 billion by 30 June 1992. This corresponds roughly to the Czechoslovak economy's annual export capability. The SBCS' foreign currency reserves increased during the aforementioned period by $801 million to $2.152 billion, which is enough to cover Czechoslovak imports for almost three months. Overall foreign currency reserves in the banking sector amounted to $4.925 billion.

The Banking Council decided to further increase obligatory minimum reserves. In accordance with this decision, commercial banks will be obliged to keep a deposit at the SBCS amounting to 3.0 percent of term deposits and 9.0 percent of non-term deposits.

The Banking Council also decided to suspend the Podnikatelska Banka's license to operate as a bank.

IMF Said To Recommend Single Currency

AU2209113192 Prague CSTK in English 1027 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Washington Sep 18 (CSTK)— The International Monetary Fund is ready to accept the two successor republics to Czechoslovakia if the federation breaks up, Czechoslovak parliament chairman Michal Kovac told journalists in Washington on Thursday [17 September].

Kovac, on a four-day visit to the United States since Tuesday, said that Jacques de Groote, the IMF executive director and head of a group of countries including Czechoslovakia, told him that the IMF recommends to the Czech and Slovak Republics to continue having a joint currency also after the split.

This is always better than to split the currency right at the beginning, Kovac quoted de Groote as saying.

Roman Zelenay, the Czechoslovak parliament deputy chairman, said that U.S. politicians with whom he had met praised the peaceful and democratic solution to all problems in Czechoslovakia.

Zelenay said there is support in the United States for the immediate recognition of the two successor states in case Czechoslovakia splits.

In reply to a question from the Hungarian news agency MTI about the rights and status of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Slovakia, Kovac and Zelenay said the Slovak Constitution and the Government program guarantee all rights for minorities.

Kovac and Zelenay also assured the journalists that Slovakia wants to continue to closely cooperate with the Czech lands even if Czechoslovakia breaks up.

Consumer Prices, Cost of Living Increase in August

AU2209112392 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Sep 92 p 8

[Report issued by the Federal Statistical Office, the Czech Statistical Office, and the Slovak Statistical Office: "The Development of Consumer Prices and the Cost of Living in August"]

[Excerpt] Consumer prices increased by 0.6 percent in August (compared to July). A slight rise in prices was also recorded in all basic groups of goods and services.

Prices for foodstuffs and non-foodstuffs increased rather more, by 0.7 percent and 0.6 percent. Prices for public catering increased by 0.5 percent and for services by 0.4 percent. The same slight aggregate increase of 0.6 percent was recorded in consumer prices in the Czech and Slovak Republics in August. This is because prices for foodstuffs and services increased faster in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic (by 0.4 percent and 0.3 percent) and prices for non-foodstuffs and public catering were slightly higher in the Czech Republic (by 0.1 percent).

As far as foodstuffs are concerned, prices for eggs and egg products increased more significantly by 9.3 percent and for non-alcoholic beverages by 2.1 percent. Increases of around 0.6-0.8 percent were recorded in flour, bread, and pasta products, in sugar and confectionery products, in alcoholic beverages, and in other foodstuffs. Prices for non-foodstuffs such as sanitary, health care, and drugstore products (cosmetics and medicines) and for transportation and sport increased more significantly, by over 1.0 percent. In public catering, the prices of beverages increased most—by 0.8 percent. In services, an increase of 1.3 percent was recorded in rents for state-owned apartments.

During the first eight months of this year (as opposed to December 1991), the increase in consumer prices amounted to 4.5 percent; the increase was 3.1 percent higher in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic (an increase of 5.5 percent as opposed to 2.4 percent) due to higher price increases in all basic groups of goods and services in the Czech Republic.

In comparison with the same period last year, aggregate consumer prices in August increased by 7.4 percent in the CSFR, by 8.4 percent in the Czech Republic, and by 5.5 percent in the Slovak Republic. Again, prices increased faster in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic.

Average annual price increases (a sliding average of the past 12 months compared to the average for the previous 12 months) in August amounted to 21.6 percent in the CSFR, 21.3 percent in the Czech Republic, and 22.5 percent in the Slovak Republic. The higher increase in prices in the Slovak Republic in this appraisal is caused by higher price increases in the Slovak Republic during the first six months of last year.

The slight increase in consumer prices in August was also manifested in the cost of living. The cost of living for wage earners' and farmers' households increased by 0.7 percent and by 0.6 percent for pensioners. Cost of living development in August was exactly the same in the Czech and Slovak Republics. [passage omitted]

Slovaks Refuse To Accept Czech Nuclear Waste

AU2209103392 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 18 Sep 92 p 3

[Jindrich Filo report: "Radioactive Waste Will Stay in Dukovany"]

[Text] The Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant [in Slovakia] has abrogated this year's contract with the Dukovany nuclear power plant [in the Czech Republic] concerning the regular transfer of spent radioactive waste from Dukovany to the intermediate storage facility in the Slovak nuclear power plant. "One of the reasons of the abrogation is the present trend toward a consistent separation of the two republics. At any rate, as we are no longer be able to export the spent fuel to Russia, for the time being we have no choice but to store it in special pools in our own power plant. Such pools are attached to every reactor," Jan Krenk, director of the Dukovany nuclear power plant, said yesterday.

The director of the Dukovany nuclear power plant told us at the same time that the pools' capacity will last until 1994. Unless the much-discussed construction of an intermediate facility for storing spent fuel in Dukovany is resolved by then, according to Jan Krenk the power station will be forced to gradually decommission individual reactors (of which four are in operation today), until the nuclear power plant is taken out of operation completely. In this context, Jan Krenk severely criticized various anti-nuclear initiatives operating in southern Moravia: "They do not wish a dialogue with experts, they do not want to agree on a solution that would be most beneficial for our state. They simply want to close the nuclear power plant cost what it may."

According to our information, however, there exists no unanimity of views on the construction of the intermediate storage facility within the power station itself. Director Jan Krenk therefore sent a personal letter to all 2,400 employees, in which he draws attention to the fact that the construction of the intermediate storage facility is becoming a personal concern for all employees of the nuclear power station because the future of their jobs depends on it.

The construction of the intermediate storage facility is sharply opposed not only by the "Duha" [Rainbow] movement from Brno and other initiatives but, in particular, by Vitezslav Jonas, the mayor of Dukovany. His opposition is based, among other things, on the results of a recent referendum in the community, in which 360 voters, that is, the overwhelming majority, opposed the planned project. According to Mayor Jonas, in defiance of the referendum results, the power station is trying in all possible ways to make Dukovany change its negative stand. The community is adamant in its position, however. The confusion and conjectures concerning the nuclear power station abound in this region, which was incidentally demonstrated by a public debate among citizens, experts, city elders, and managers of the nuclear power plant that took place in Trebic yesterday.

Dubcek's Condition Reported as Stabilized

AU2209135292 Prague CSTK in English 1545 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Prague [dateline as received]—Alexander Dubcek's condition stabilised today after he was put on an artificial breathing apparatus Saturday [19 September] and blood circulation in his brain is improving, a federal parliament spokesman told CSTK, referring to information from doctors treating Dubcek.

The spokesman said, however, Dubcek still suffers from pneumonia.

The 70-year old leader of the 1968 Prague Spring reform movement suffered serious injuries to his spine and chest in a car crash on the Prague-Brno motorway on September 1.

IMF Delegation Holds Talks on Economic Reform

AU2209105092 Budapest MTI in English 1759 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 20 Sep (MTI)—International Monetary Fund officials and the Hungarian delegation will discuss the guidelines and perspectives of economic reforms in Hungary and not the size of the central budget deficit, Hungarian Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa said on Sunday [20 September].

The delegation will inform IMF general director Michel Camdessus and other officials on the steps of the restructuring to be taken by 1996. After concluding a conceptual agreement, talks on the details are to be continued in Budapest later, Kupa said.

Kupa and National Bank of Hungary President Peter Akos Bod attend a session of IMF and World Bank leading bodies in Washington.

Hungary's 1993 central budget deficit is forecast to be HUF [Hungarian forints] 180-185 billion, instead of HUF 150 billion proposed by the IMF.

This year, the budget deficit is expected to amount to HUF 200 billion, instead of the HUF 70 billion forecast. Due to the overstep, the IMF has suspended disbursing support to Hungary this year.

According to Kupa, if the sides manage to come to agreement on the economic guidelines at the present talks, the IMF will continue to disburse the funds.

In another development, Kupa held talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in Washington on Sunday.

They agreed that the Visegrad three, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, have to continue cooperating and acting jointly at international forums.

Also, they said Budapest and Prague will have to conclude agreements on investment protection and the avoidance of double taxation as soon as possible.

Minister Fur Examines Air Defense Exercises

AU2109151792 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 17 September (MTI)—Air defence exercises were held in cooperation with ground troops in Hajmasker, western Hungary, on Thursday [17 September].

The hour-long practice firing, involving 20 fighters and helicopters, was the final event of several days of nationwide maneuvers.

Exercises were inspected by the army chief of staff, in the presence of Defence Minister Lajos Fur, Political State Seceretary Erno Raffay, Army Commander Colonel-General Kalman Lorincz, and Ground Forces Commander Lieutenant General Bela Gyuricza.

Speaking to reporters, Air Defence Commander Brigadier General Miklos Csurgay said that the military equipment used was three to four years old.

Fur said that funds were only sufficient to maintain the inherited level of technology, although it lagged behind European standards.

This year's outlay on maneuvers was a tenth of the sum spent three to four years ago.

Defense Minister Views Security Issues

AU2209114992 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "Moderation, Against Tensions—Lajos Fur on Security Policy Issues"]

[Text] Western Europe is aware of the fact that Hungary needs security guarantees but cannot see the solution to the problem, Lajos Fur said in Copenhagen a few days ago. After his return home, we interviewed him on what kind of security guarantees he had in mind and who should provide them.

[Fur] It is hard to decide from here, from Hungary, what kind of security guarantee would satisfy everyone. It seems that the Helsinki process, the CSCE is the most comprehensive, followed—on a European level—by NATO, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, and the West European Union [WEU].

The most important point would be for these organizations themselves also to find the most suitable form for the eastern part of Europe, the former Warsaw Pact countries. In my view, the problem is that, although people in the West are very well aware of the need for this, they cannot come to an agreement with each other.

[Decsi] What could be the reason for this? Were they unprepared for the East European changes?

[Fur] This is so. They were very much expecting this moment but had no idea at all about what to do when the changes come about. The disintegration processes that have since begun in Eastern Europe further complicate the situation.

[Decsi] What attitude do these organizations have toward Hungary?

[Fur] In the course of my negotiations, I constantly experience that they attribute a special importance to the countries of the Visegrad cooperation. This is also supported by facts because these three countries have been accepted as associate members to the EC. However, after the acceleration of changes in the former Soviet Union after the coup attempt in 1991, the countries of the Visegrad cooperation have fallen out of the focus of attention. Attention has now been turned toward the former Soviet Union, mainly Russia and Ukraine.

[Decsi] A number of West European politicians have stated that Hungary's NATO membership is not on the agenda. What is the situation with the WEU?

[Fur] In the summer, a meeting was held in Bonn with the participation of the foreign affairs and defense ministers of the WEU countries and the countries of the former Warsaw Pact. Other than this, we have not had any organized contact. The meeting adopted a statement on the South Slav crisis and European security, but I do not know of any concrete developments since then. It certainly was not discussed that the three countries, namely Hungary, the CSFR, and Poland that are associate members of the EC, should on this basis enjoy similar status with the WEU.

[Decsi] So we are left with bilateral links. In your experience, how helpful are the Western countries?

[Fur] We have established military-diplomatic relations with almost all West European countries. Only Sweden is left but the Swedish defense minister is due to visit Budapest in the near future. In my experience, regardless of whether I meet the delegation of a neutral country or a NATO member state, they are always very willing and helpful. They are especially helpful in passing on their experiences, and—when the language problems can be overcome—in the training of officers, and in the management structure. However, the doors are not opening very easily before the modernization of the Hungarian Army's weapons. This is not only a matter of unwillingness of our partners; Hungary's financial situation does not permit the modernization, either. We are happy to preserve the current level of the Hungarian Army's combat-readiness.

[Decsi] Can Hungary be safe in this agitated East European region?

[Fur] In my view, if the public and the government can keep to their current moderate attitude, and we continue to pursue a prudent foreign policy then we will be able to save Hungary from these tensions. Our society also has its internal problems but their character is completely different from that of the neighboring countries. It is not an ethnic or religious conflict or a conflict arising from different levels of development. Our economy is effective but we have many problems.

Should some of these tensions penetrate Hungary, for example, if a small armed conflict developed or the country was flooded by a wave of refugees, the Hungarian Army would be able to handle such problems. I repeatedly state that a frontal attack does not threaten Hungary from any direction.

Antall Speaks at MDF Faction Meeting

AU2209104792 Budapest MTI in English 1941 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 20 Sep (MTI)—The government stands in the centre, no shift to the right has taken place in Hungary, and the governing coalition continues to reject both extremes, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in an interview with Sunday [20 September] evening Television news magazine 'THE WEEK'.

In Antall's view, a key task is to preserve Hungary's stability, to maintain the favourable picture of the country abroad.

He warned of attempts to discredit centrist forces and reminded politicians of their responsibility in that respect.

Speaking about certain fears, he said there must not be any anti-Semitism in the country that might arouse the feeling of being threatened in the large Jewish community living in Hungary. He stressed the Jewish issue cannot be addressed in the same way after Auschwitz as before the Holocaust.

On the other hand, he said, socialism, class struggle, and any issue related to leftism, can no more be addressed the same way after the Gulag, Hungarian prisons and detention camps as before.

He drew the conclusion that only a person condemning both phenomena has the right to speak about one or the other.

Antall reconfirmed his position on the media issue, saying his view on that is supported by the Constitution. He said it is only natural if people, protesting against violations of the Constitution and of the rule of law, express disagreement at demonstrations.

According to Antall, the political force that gained a majority in the parliamentary elections does not seek predominance in the media, it just wants objective information, and proportioned comment.

As Hungarian Democratic Forum president, he denied any possibility of a split in his party, although, he said, some want to see such a split.

Active Party Founded on Environmental Issues

AU2209095392 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Sep 92 p 4

[National Press Office report: "The Active Party Comes on the Scene"]

[Text] The deteriorating conditions of life, the general mood of disappointment, and the strengthening of extremist voices in public life made us decide to establish the Active Party [Aktiv Part], the founders of this party write in a statement. Our basic principle is to strive for consensus, but we are critical about irresponsible politics that seek to exclude people. Originally, we were environmentalists, but we came to the conclusion that the political environment is being polluted in Hungary and this is primarily what we must be active against. In our view, ensuring social peace is the most important issue, but we also continue to be committed to the cause of environmental protection, the statement concludes.

Walesa Meets Radio, TV Journalists

LD2109131692 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1950 GMT 18 Sep 92

["Edited excerpts" of meeting between President Lech Walesa and radio and television journalists in Warsaw on 18 September; identity of moderator not given; journalists identified where known—recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen. I have the pleasure to welcome to our meeting President Lech Walesa and Minister Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's spokesman. In our conversation—I hope this will be a conversation—they will meet the management, employees, and representatives of trade unions of artistic milieus: We have more than a dozen of those. To begin with I ask Mr. President to speak first. Please go ahead.

[Walesa] Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, I have come here several months too late. As you remember, ladies and gentlemen, I promised that after one year of my experiment with the presidency we would meet and discuss where we are. During today's meeting I want to find understanding, I want to ponder the past and give an account, but above all I want to address the future.

I began with quite interesting slogans: acceleration—I don't want to but I have to—promises about the program. And when I look at it all today, I can say the following: I have learned a little about how to act as president, but as far as these slogans are concerned, their implementation is not going well. I would like you, ladies and gentlemen, to understand why this has happened, why instead of the acceleration we are applying brakes; I would like you to understand the reasons for this, and, while pondering about the past one has to attempt to make up for lost time. I want to make up for lost time, I want to carry out my duties, and I will do everything to make this happen.

But in order to achieve this we must understand each other. That is why I hope that we will discuss all those past slogans, programmatic slogans, but only to speed up, to implement, to catch up, so that the future is more interesting and better and so that we all build it.

To begin with I would like to speak about what was written in order to provoke, or to proffer a point of view and generate a discussion about the mass media. I want to say here that television is the main newspaper of Poles, the only one for many. That is why it carries a special responsibility. It should inform in a fashion that is thorough, comprehensive, and objective. Television neglects to present the state's point of view. The editing table cannot decide about the picture of the government, parliament, and the president. Television news is saturated with sensationalism. This cannot be a substitute for thorough and full information. As of today, there dominates a journalism that is aggressive but not thorough in conveying information. And again, I do not say this as an accusation, as a charge—I say that a revolution is taking place in the country in every respect. A revolution has its laws. Even the errors therein are an integral part. But the task, our task is to remove these errors and omissions as quickly as possible, to return to normality as quickly as possible, and to construct this normality.

I hope that we will achieve all that I have spoken of after a frank, man-to-man talk, for this is indispensible. Probably everyone in this country has become convinced that we do not in fact have a choice, that the direction of reforms, democracy, the market economy is already decided. On the other hand, the big question is what price for this direction, how quickly can we attain it, where are the errors, and what, particularly, should we concern ourselves with, who has been deceived, who is worst off today, who should we concern ourselves with. All these issues can be brought under control with understanding. It does not have to be as bad in Poland as it is today. We have all the required data and even the money to spend intelligently and obtain greater results. But for this to take place, I repeat, we must bring the past and my two-year presidency to account. I am convinced that we will achieve this. I invited you to a man-to-man discussion that will allow us to go in the direction of the future.

[Name indistinct] [Words indistinct] from the Wiadomosci program. Mr. President, you said at the start that the television news is saturated with aggressive journalism. What is behind your evaluation? And a second, supplementary, question: How do you understand journalistic independence?

[Walesa] Madame.

[Moderator] What was the second question?

[Unidentified reporter] About the concept of journalistic independence.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I said at the start that this is a new thing, a new system, that we are all learning, that one cannot complain about this, that precisely such sensational things go down better. However there is a certain but here: State television, social television, should channel itself in the direction in which we are heading. We are heading toward a new Poland, a democratic Poland. In this Poland there nonetheless must be a government; there must be a president; there must be a parliament. And they must be given the floor, as they are implementing this reform. They cannot be undermined. One can discuss, one can have another view. On the other hand, the direction of the state must be carried forward, and those issues that stoke the fires, that are somehow brutal, that do not serve the direction of the reforms [as heard]. Freedom and democracy yes, but we cannot let ourselves lose direction. We cannot lose leadership, we cannot have logic undermined. It is appropriate to promote efficiency, improvements, independence. But the television with which we find ourselves here, and the television centers should serve society, and not act as incendiary devices. And so, sometimes, it is necessary to bite one's tongue and say,

Yes, that is true, this is just, but this fans the flames and then society reacts as it does. It is not yet reoriented, we have not succeeded in doing this, and at this moment we might damage what is most important, and set fire to the house in which we all live.

This has nothing to do with censorship, with imposition, only with the implementation of the main direction of the reforms being implemented by the president, by the government, by parliament, and so on, and not by oppositional forces that have the right to demolish, to organize themselves, and even to change the government. On the other hand, it is not the opposition that implements but he who directs. The opposition has the right to take over power and overthrow. But then the opposition will be exercising the power that has been taken over. This is your responsibility, as is, above all, the education of society in the direction of reforms. And that is why [words indistinct] for anything, we must understand that you can serve the cause, you can help, and you can demolish the cause.

I hope that we will understand each other on future questions, that we will clarify that this has nothing to do with imposition, with taking away your voice. It is only an attempt to rescue the main direction of the reforms.

[Torbicka] Grazyna Torbicka, Polish television second program. Mr. President, you said that undoubtedly there are values within the nation, within the state that should be respected but that we can criticize. This is really so. But you said, Mr. President, that one should criticize them with a new style. I would like to ask you to explain the meaning of criticizing in a new style.

[Walesa] So that there is a point to it. You can make a proposal, say that it would be better this way or that way, and why don't you see this, why doesn't the president notice this. Not just to say: Ah, he did this badly and we will do it even worse. And so, you should make criticism constructive, propose a better program, and not just say no for the sake of saying no, not just point to the mistakes we made in democracy or in the election of the president.

This is my point; the point must be a creative one, not just a case of leaving the landscape after the battle. And when the landscape after the battle remains, whenever we give someone a hard time without making any point, well, there follows an even greater struggle. I suppose we have enough of that struggle. And this is my point. [passage as heard]

[Moderator] Mr. Karol Malcuzynski.

[Malcuzynski] Mr. President, I would like to refer to the first question and answer and to those critical remarks on the subject of television journalism. I would like to raise the issue of trust but in more down-to-earth categories. We live on public money, from the [radio and television] license, and therefore, we are accountable to those people who pay for those licenses. Would it be worth looking at the results of what television viewers say about this? A poll conducted this month concerning the public's level of trust in different institutions indicates that the armed forces take the first place, followed by the police, and the television in the third place with 71 percent. All institutions and centers of authority, including the president's office, take lower positions. Public trust in these institutions reaches as low as half of the trust in television. How would you comment on the results of that research, Mr. President?

[Walesa] Well, as a pragmatist I keep asking why this is so. And you have your remarks. And I bet that I have different ones. After 50 years of a system where everything was conveyed as it was, all sorts of sensations, dangers, nice girls, well they are seen as they are, and they may be liked. [as heard] So this is point number one. Well, this is not all. One could go further. Why the armed forces and the militia? Because society is threatened, we are in a mess in Poland, and Poles demand stability; they would like peace and quiet, and that is why they declare and believe in those forces that are organized, and, as it were, they rest their case in those hands.

This is what one can say straight out. One can also consider it quite differently. One can consider it as you suggest, sir, that it is the greatest level of trust, that these forces have done the most, and that authority should be put in their hands because they would do things better. Well, no sir, that's not so; this is a complicated problem. I am convinced that if we show more clearly how to help the poor retiree, the pensioner, the farmer, or the man whose workplace has been closed down by really showing how and why this happened, we would be seen differently by the public. Moreover, all these opinion polls as to popularity or lack thereof can be seen in various ways. My unpopularity is linked to unfulfilled hopes, to the fact that there are difficulties and troubles, to the fact that I am entangled in government and responsibility, and that my popularity and the popularity of beauty contestants is based on different principles. She is prettier, she is more beautiful, she pleases the eye, and so on, so her popularity will be greater, but it will be popularity of a different kind. The same would apply to the popularity of the primate or someone else.

So it's like I once said: There are boxing champions and chess champions and we can spend time considering which is the greater champion.

[Malcuzynski] May I refer back? There seems to be some misunderstanding. Heaven forbid that I should have suggested that those groups that enjoy great popularity should reach out for power—and television especially should not reach out for power. I was only suggesting that television has twice as much public trust as the government and president and even more than double as far as the Sejm and the Senate are concerned. In connection with this, what I was suggesting in my question was that perhaps the governing centers don't know how to sell themselves.

[Walesa] I am three moves ahead of you, sir, because I didn't want to go in this direction and you are bringing us back to the first move. I must repeat: This higher position does not entitle you, sir, to take over power, and you (?said as much to me in reply). It is in a different class. But I was no longer considering what you were considering.

That is why I say what use can I make of this, what lies at the root of this, and one can reflect on this; but I am to choose. [sentence as heard] If I were to go along with your thoughts then the only way out for the president would be to hand over power to those most trusted centers since they have the greatest trust. But one can't do that and you said yourself, sir, that this is in a different class, perhaps because there still exists a dynasty in television, because (?television) is better liked, and perhaps for other things, perhaps because of the slogans, perhaps because it exposes crimes, financial scandals, the inefficiency of the president, and many other things. For this people say that at least these people on television are telling the truth.

That is why we must not consider things in this manner; we must consider things within the framework of why things are this bad when they could be better. Why do we not notice that someone doesn't have enough to live on? Why are we helping foreigners, those in Poland who are ill with AIDS and other things, yet we don't notice the elderly, those who have 800,000 zloties to 1 million to live on.

And so, once more, well, that's enough! [laughter]

[Unidentified reporter] [Words indistinct] just complete this as regards these statistics—the army, the police, television, the Catholic Church. The president has recently held meetings, first in Swiecz with the army, then in Legnica with the militia—the police that is. Now the president is in Legionowo at the television. Is the president perhaps planning some meeting with the primate in the near future?

[Walesa] Sir, I know that you are stubborn, that you would like to let me have it, only you are incapable of letting me have it. [laughter] Sir, taking suggestions from you, and knowing that certain people would like to smash this or that, and knowing that this is so, I am trying to say, on the basis of these surveys, that you should continue to serve in this way, but serve better. Help in solving the problems about which society is concerned. Then you will have an even better standing in all these surveys. And so, I have already taken account of what you say, I am already talking, already seeing great dangers, external and internal. I want greater understanding, that we maintain authority, but, simultaneously, as quickly as possible, resolve that which society says, in the subtext, in my view, giving this great trust. [passage as heard]

[Pawlowicz] Pawel Pawlowicz, Wiadomosci program. I am trying to understand, Mr. President, what you have in mind. You say: Not slogans, only to the point. I understand that you are concerned about the authority of those in power, and that television should not undermine this authority. But I have a question. Should not the authorities themselves take care of their authority? As Lech Walesa, not yet as the president, you went to the presidency with an enormous capital of social authority. And, Mr. President, I wanted to ask where this authority is today, where is your camp today? For you say that in five months time you will gather this camp together.

[Walesa] The reply is very straightforward. As you again remember, it was demanded from me that the president, that the presidential chancellery be nonpolitical. You remember that? It was demanded that I not get into such discussions and not pull to one side or the other. I did precisely that. That is the first thing. Second, the type of authority about which you speak was very necessary for me, for I fought for it when I wanted to be president. Today, this is not necessary for me, today I am to attempt to resolve these problems, assuming for myself some invisible mantle, and responsibility, and the role of stimulant. Only when it doesn't come out for me, then I sometimes show the justice minister when I have had enough of ineffectiveness, enough of all of this. And so, my work is invisible, and I do not want to show it at all. And from this there comes, well what does he do in fact? When I will move for the presidency, when I want to move for the presidency, then when I write out for you what I have done, in how many places I have participated, how I have stimulated, how I have tried, then you will say: My God! Why aren't I voting for Walesa?

[Words indistinct] that's not the point. It's a different game today. Implementation is the idea today and we have these government changeovers, changes in prime minister, the first out of necessity, the second out of necessity as well. It's only now that I and Poland have a bit of stability. I evaluate the Madame prime minister and this government—it doesn't matter how—as something that offers stability. I can now attempt to implement, or even to say things openly, to hold meetings, and I can implement things because I don't have to anymore. [as heard] When I was on the alert every hour and every minute, learning the presidency, I was on the alert because I wasn't sure of every second. Anything could happen at any moment, and so I didn't let the helm of state out of my hands even at night! Should that be shown? All my skirmishes, struggles, urging, carpeting? I could have.

People can be divided into those who work and don't talk, and those who don't do much work but can sell themselves. I know people like that. You have them too. A great authority, but who just sold himself and earns well by it. To this day, he has the greatest recognition. But work, no. Now, let's consider: Am I to be a good salesman or am I to try to solve the problems? When I play for the presidency, I will show how much fighting there was for law- abidance in Poland; how much fighting over the scandals; how much fighting there was for young soldiers to go into the police. How much fighting there was over the 100 million zlotys [offered by

Walesa to every citizen to invest in business]. [Words indistinct] The public doesn't know about that and I (?didn't) want to tell them about it, for there (?would have been) another fight and I'd have to (?have overthrown) the next minister or the next government two days later for (?I'd have had) no choice. For the sake of peace I let it go, I didn't show, I counted, I multiplied. Now I have more time; things are starting to move; I am coming back and being open and, together with society, looking for possibilities to encourage and improve all those things.

A presidential camp. I told you: It couldn't be because we chose the nonpolitical concept. And now those who fought so hard for me to be nonpolitical, for the slogan of: Why talk to him? He has no backing." That's the concept and when it came to fighting for it—on 4 July or in June—then that camp turned out as it did—and it will always turn out so because nobody has doubts. There is always one more card. Let nobody think that, even now, at this moment, he can take Walesa by surprise. No. I agreed to serve the nation and I'll always have one card. Nobody will outsmart me, but not in the class of being for myself or for money. That's (?out). There's only serving the nation, serving properly, and nobody will be a winner or gain victory if he tries to cheat Poland. It will take a bit of time. It will be hard. There will be things like what is happening now. But there is no way the main direction can be changed.

[Moderator] Mr. Jacek Szymanderski.

[Szymanderski] Mr. President, Karol Malcuzynski quoted here the results of polls that show that television enjoys quite a high degree of trust. It has regained it after very many.....

[Moderator interrupts] Mr. Szymanderski is the director of the Center for Public Opinion Research.

[Walesa] I know Mr. Szymanderski, I know his every move.

[Szymanderski] Television regained this trust after many years. It regained it because people see at present that television is not involved with any of the sides—neither the government side, nor the antigovernment side, nor any other. Well, if we should now start making the points about which you speak, start adding these commentaries—even if they should be correct— would there not be a danger that people will notice that television was involved, a danger that television would lose their trust; and the loss of trust brings with it total negation. People will say: Everything television says is lies because it is for the president, for the government, and so on. Then we will lose the only chance of communicating with this public.

Are you not afraid, sir, of such a danger? Would it not be better, after all, to retain this impartiality?

[Walesa] No, sir, I see a simple way out. Fifteen minutes for all those who do not like the president, the government; a permanent 15 minutes, and let them do what they like!

The news, the Expres [a 15-minute news and current affairs slot] are to push forward Polish reforms. Yet the Polish reforms are being pushed forward by the parliament, the president, and the government. And these matters must be subordinated to them [as heard] and other matters have to be [changes thought] well, the nation wants songs, pretty girls, and criticism of the president, but of a certain class of culture, and respect for the office of the president. Thus, say: This he did badly; if he had listened to Mr. Szymanderski he would really have done it better.

This must be on television, but presented differently. I know that we will achieve this. But at the same time let us not forget the fundamental things that we want: pluralism, democracy, respect for law and order. Who has been brave enough to say on television, straight out: Gentlemen, there has even been a demonstration outside the Belweder Palace. This is a violation of law.

If you want to crush a financial scandal you yourself must respect the law. If you reached a street that is half a kilometer away from the presidential office then why did you go there? You broke the law. You are already serving as an example. Yet it says on television that they are not breaking the law.

Financial scandals must be revealed because they are violations of the law and they rob the nation. But as individuals, one must abide by the law. That is why there is no conflict here. It is just that during the hours when Poland listens most you must say why these things are bad. Say: We have better possibilities, say: Here is an idea. Don't just mock. The president and the prime minister meet together with the chairman of the union and nothing is reported on television. While a great deal was said about a book that was being promoted. There are many such occurrences.

A little while ago I met the prosecutor at the television news studio and I told him straight out: Sir, you don't know how to, you don't want to, what's stopping you? In the most important news bulletin one can't do such a thing. Did this exacerbate? Someone could say: Well, it didn't get published because it might have exacerbated. No! This finally showed that I do everything that is within my competence: I encourage, I plead, I don't condemn, I certainly don't say that (?I don't want) to continue. Let him say that it isn't Walesa's fault. And that's what he said: We apologize, Mr. President. You promised deadlines by which you would let people go with nothing but their socks [reference to an earlier interview given to Polish radio when Walesa spoke about criminals being left with nothing but their socks]. We gave you these deadlines, we didn't keep to the deadlines and you are bearing the responsibility, but it isn't your

fault. Well, I understand all this, but I like to pay my own bills. Let everyone pay his own bills.

As to what you were saying: We will have even greater esteem but let's agree: Criticism of the president will be at 0015 because everyone is asleep at that time! [laughter]

[Moderator] Miss Lopuszynska, please.

[Lopuszynska] Jolanta Lopuszynska, from the Association of Polish Journalists. Mr. President, you use the phrase state television, social television. I would use the phrase public television because it...

[Walesa interrupts] Public, of course, while (?the monkeys are complaining). [laughter]

[Lopuszynska] Well these are associations of ideas that are truly far-reaching.

[Walesa] So! Once again I am right!

[Lopuszynska] They hadn't occurred to me! [Walesa laughs] However, to return to this picture of a public television and that part of it that the president mentioned a moment ago—that is peak-viewing hours, information, and the up-to-the-minute broadcasting of hot subjects—well, in my opinion, this public television obliges us to present the standpoints of more than one side, that is not just the side of the government, of the president, and of the Sejm—but especially that of the government. On the whole, I have nothing against any government but experience teaches us that governments change often and it then turns out that the new one has a slightly different viewpoint of what the previous one did. Consequently, it isn't necessarily so that those who happen to be in power are always right.

I have a question rather than a criticism, but does not the voice of the other side, of the so-called opposition, have the right to have access to the microphone at peak viewing times? Does it have to be under special supervision? And I am also referring to the scandal, written up in the columns of several newspapers—let us call it scandal because that is the way it was seen—of the viewing and the censoring by Minister Drzycimski of the program called "Without Anaesthetic" [weekly interview spot where people in the news are questioned about topical issues]. That is why I am asking whether we always and exclusively have to be in agreement with the direction of the authorities of the moment or whether we can present a different opinion and viewpoint.

[Walesa] Well, (?judging) from what you have said I know that you won't be voting for me.

[Lopuszynska] But I did, Mr. President.

[Walesa] But now you feel that you made a mistake. All right, madame. No, no... let us go back. Ladies and gentlemen, surely I told you madame that one has to do this, from the point of view of hygiene, out of necessity because of the fact that there is an opposition. But let us keep the right proportions and let us keep our [changes thought] Don't you wish, madame, to live in a better Poland? Don't you want to live better? Do you want to set fire to the Polish home? I'm sure you don't. So, if you don't then, madame: governments should be changed, and presidents too, but while it is still there, while this government has not yet been changed the main direction is subject to this government and this must be so.

What was I talking about?

[Moderator] The problem of responsibility.

[Walesa] That's what I was saying: it has to be done, but in different places [words indistinct]. I'm getting tired now.

[Lopuszynska] Then there was the problem of "Bez znieczulenia" [a weekly guest spot on Warsaw TVP Television Second Program hosted by Wieslaw Walendziak] and [words indistinct] and censorship by the Belweder.

[Walesa] That's not so, ladies and gentlemen, that's not so. No censorship. But madame, just put yourself in the president's place. There is a specific situation in the country. It's on fire, there are strikes, and so on. People are saying there's a coup, there's that nasty Walesa. I went on television, on two programs. I said many things and and you talk to me about responsibility. It could have been allowed to continue until we would both have been out on the street, and may the best man win. Shouldn't I, as president, have acted differently? Stopped it all: Stop! When conditions exist, when there is a parliament, there will be a meeting with television. We will talk about the arguments and let's assess them: maybe bad practice was adopted, indeed. Such a meeting should take place calmly and not in that way. So, stopping it and not allowing the fire to spread, that's not censorship. That's not censorship. For you, madame, are bringing that up now and you are calling it censorship. No. But it is responsibility for the country that at this moment one more drop of oil and it could cause—there's no knowing what. You don't know, madame, but I'm responsible for the country and later I'll have to go into greater explanations, show it all; but at the moment, I can't. Responsibility. You tell me, madame, what the situation was: kicked and bitten on all sides. The move undermined [changes thought] but that move wasn't foreseen. That move wasn't foreseen and once again, I foresaw it. I brought peace and calm; nothing happened.

Now let's discuss it. Let's discuss who was right. If I wasn't right, I... really, I'll give back everything I have for the Polish cause, but in a civilized way. Let's talk about that cause in parliament, here, and elsewhere and may he who is right win. But not over such a matter and not at such a moment.

Therefore, there's no censorship, there will be no censorship. I won't allow any censorship, but responsibility. Madame, in my place, I'd bet everything on it, you would stop a few more things than me.

[Lopuszanska] I'll permit myself to disagree with you.

[Wojciech Namyka] Mr. President, the Sejm didn't recall Minister Lewandowski from his post today, although the government coalition didn't get a majority. Will you be trying to help the government, for today's vote is a kind of belmish on the government coalition; or will you perhaps try to take matters into your own hands earlier than you announced, for you announced that it would be in the course of the next six months?

[Walesa] I'm coming back a few months later than I promised and I'll try to show society why this has happened, where the mistakes are. I'll try to repair it all. Maybe it will be the repair of Minister Lewandowski, maybe of concepts, and maybe of something else, but it isn't my role to pick the government directly and it isn't my role to go directly into a situation that I'm not authorized to do.

There is some truth there. [Sentence as heard] One must take a closer look at it. But, more importantly, as one who has been chosen by the entire nation, I am obliged to be with this nation always. That is why I return quickly and I will try to answer these questions, defend the government, put forward those arguments of the government that I know, and confront the public, and then come back the other way. I will pass on to the prime minister and to the ministers: Gentlemen, this shouldn't be so. Either there is too little understanding—so try to ensure that the minister is understood—or try to improve because you are here, first and foremost, to serve the public, and if this public doesn't want you to serve, then you can't serve because that would be to impose.

This is my role: To be with the people and at the same time to be with the government when it is right, and to pass this on, to apply corrections, to encourage, to urge on, and to help—within the bounds of possibilities—so that it all hangs together nicely and, more importantly, so that it resolves problems.

[Pawlowski] Krzysztof Pawlowski...

[Moderator interrupting] Just a second, please, I am sorry.

[Koenig] Koenig. I feel a bit silly because I am a fringe element of society [laughter] Jerzy Koenig, television theater.

We are meeting in this studio during a break in the recording of a program of [name indistinct] Mazurek, a children's program. I watch with great pleasure films on the lives of fish from the southern seas. On the other hand, politicians tear television apart for political reasons: They want nothing but politics here.

My question is as follows: Could the first man of the Polish Republic—as the first among men—say about television: Men, television is not only politics, otherwise we would go mad.

[Walesa] My answer is: I only demand it in such programs as the news, Teleexpres, and Panorama. But as for the rest, well don't let's allow them to drive us crazy! Politics is a ghastly profession! [applause] If I only could I would take no interest in politics at all! And that is why I say that those slots that are significant and that interest one—well look at them—but for the rest, let's give ourselves a break! After all, there are beautiful girls! There are beautiful fish! They must be shown! We must show them!

[Pawlowski] Mr. President, what is your opinion of the radio and television stations that exist at the moment and are termed pirate by some and praised by others as stations that have the courage to change some things before there is a change in the law. Some time ago you received Wojtek Reszczynski. You talked with him. At the moment, he heads an independent radio station, I don't know his exact status but he doesn't, I imagine, have permission for this. But this meeting of yours with Reszczynski was accepted by many as a sign that the president wishes to sanction piracy.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, at this point I am a bad example for many things. I am an example of insubordination, of breaking rules, of jumping over walls [reference to 1980 Gdansk shipyard incident]. It is all true. And, of course, these were different circumstances, we had to fight in order to have opportunities. Today, on the other hand, we take little advantage of these opportunities, the law and parliament solve problems too slowly, and my meetings, every one of my meetings... We can speak of my meeting with Lepper [head of "Samoobrona" self-defense union] and about giving him extra funds. I think this will probably leak out. I will tell you why. My meeting with those who are pirates today has only one goal: To finally resolve the situation that has arisen, to urge and to force a solution. And because it's going too feebly, I am holding meetings to encourage a solution to that problem. And there's no hidden agenda here, none at all.

[Unidentified reporter] In view of that, will you help us jump over the fence too?

[Walesa] This problem must finally be solved. I'm not an expert in many fields, including television, and so I know that there are patriotic forces here that will solve the problem in the right way. I'm there and democracy is there to help solve these problems—problems that life brings us. And if it is going too slowly, then I meet this or that person to encourage a solution of that problem.

[Unidentified reporter] If I may, I'd like to add to Mr. Bugala's statement, for—please understand us rightly, Mr. President—we don't want to speak from the position of people who want to destroy competition. Just the opposite. We, too, are uncomfortable in the corset of monopolism because all complaints are addressed to us, because we are the only ones; but we would like competition to come legally and I think this is the position, if not of all, then of the majority of those sitting here.

Hence, if someone shows up illegally, if he illegally shows films that, for example, we have paid for, and he shows them earlier, illegally, then it's probably understandable that we have to protest against something like that—but not from a position of wanting to overthrow competition.

[Walesa] That's exactly what I said. I said I've had enough of the insoluble situation. We talk on different subjects in parliament, and the Radio and Television Act is very important. Possibilities for action have already appeared. They complicate your lives, complicate things for Poland and for those people. Let there be a decision at last. And because none has been made, that's why, in my meetings, I urged—I didn't define myself—I called for correct solutions that should be found, but in the professional milieu, i.e. here in television.

I have another thing to say here: This television, state television, public television, has to stay and not go under. No price can compensate for television ceasing to exist. Don't you believe that? No government, no authority, no democracy, no society will agree to there not being a raison d'etat, a direction of reforms, and so on. And so, your livelihood, regardless of the price, is compulsory, but at the same time, pluralism, democracy, and other things will allow others to exist, but in a slightly different class, in the class of slogans, beautiful girls, and so on.

[Indistinct interruption asking if this is a good thing]

[Walesa] It's a very bad thing, but we have to go through certain elements and stages; we have to go through the illnesses that have to be endured, but it will exist and nobody who thinks about the country or the reforms can allow it not to be the strongest and the best. And how will he [as heard] help? To help and not kill off.

[Unidentified speaker] We have been given a life-sentence by the president. You heard it, ladies and gentlemen.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you like Polish television?

[Walesa] I must say I do, very much. I must say that I join those who have said that television enjoys trust. It's all true. But it is also true that appetite comes with eating. All of you are not satisfied with your uncertainty, with your [word indistinct] here, with your [word indistinct]. That is why thanking you for your great work I only want to say that I want to work with you for the good of the country in those spheres that are of greatest importance to it. Let's find the spheres together, let's find the solutions because I am paid from public funds just as you are. We may argue but, first and foremost, we must build our future, find solutions, find places where help is necessary. We must serve these main, most important issues at this historic moment. But no one has a monopoly on wisdom. One has to speak elsewhere about mistakes both by the government and by parliament but in a cultured manner. One has to permit the opposition and the parties, but we must not forget their place. We must not forget about the subjects that are important here and now, and they cannot choose petty scandal-mongering news, and even pretty girls because it all has to be within the limits of decency and direction. I am sorry, I have not come here to improve my image, I have not come here for the news, I have come here several months too late in order to look for chances for better reforms.

Having a stable government, having heard remarks expressing your dissatisfaction—and mine as well—I want to campaign for your own and others' stability. And we should find those whom we have wronged and attempt to make amends because there is such a possibility, because the president and others spend too little time with the nation explaining the difficulties to the nation.

One has to explain and only then demand the correct conclusions. That is all. I am sorry it took too long, I am good only for an hour. The meeting has been as you wanted it to be. I have come, I have provoked you because together with you I want to serve this country. We all make mistakes, but also we should all avoid them if we recognize them as mistakes. On the other hand, life is beautiful, Poland may be beautiful, but let's try to find understanding and serve it better. Everyone in his place, without any monopoly over wisdom. Together, we share wisdom and power, but we lack conversation, we lack explanation, we lack understanding; sometimes there is too much ambition, sometimes small things destroy great things, and one has regret and feels pity. Your wisdom, your work has been destroyed even by the president. Let's not allow this because the country, Poland, belongs to all of us and demands from us today better, more prudent action.

Thank you, I am sorry, I await the next meeting, I await your invitation. [applause]

Nastase, French Envoy Ratify Cooperation Treaty

AU2109201792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/9/1992—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and French Ambassador to Bucharest Renaud Vignal exchanged Monday, September 21, the ratification instruments of the treaty of friendly understanding and cooperation between Romania and the French Republic concluded in Paris on November 20, 1990.

In the address on the occasion the head of the Romanian diplomacy assessed the moment as a new step toward developing traditional relations of friendship between Romania and France. He also highlighted the constant support Romania received from France in the last two and a half years for its connection to the Western institutions as well as its friendly aid within international organizations at difficult times for Romania. From this angle one can say that Romania's post-revolutionary history means to a great extent France's assistance, its highly substantial aid, he said, also underscoring that this was the first such treaty for which Romania exchanged ratification instruments.

In his turn Ambassador Vignal pointed to the traditional friendly links between France and Romania, and to the significance of the new treaty for the future Romanian-French ties.

Iliescu Criticized for Blaming CDR for Incident

AU2209122992 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 17 Sep 92 p 1

[Ilie Paunescu article: "Ion Iliescu, the Slanderer"]

[Text] The presidential candidate of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] [Ion Iliescu] is trying to take advantage of the abominable incident that took place in Timisoara, where Mr. Gheorghe Funar [presidential candidate of the Party of National Unity of Romanians, PUNR] was attacked with such a lack of consideration that a Bucharest journalist hastened to say in his editorial: "It all seemed to be a scenario set up to substantially enhance the PUNR candidate."

The group of Ion Iliescu's supporters and its satellites are in seventh heaven. From the ridiculous manager of the "20-minute government" of 22 December to the current president a long line of slanderers hasten to blame the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] for the shameful incidents that took place in the capital of Banat region.

According to a ROMPRES report, Mr. Ion Iliescu said that: "according to information that we have received, the CDR is to blame for the incident."

Both the impudence of the organizer and leader of the 13-15 June 1990 vandalism and the fact that such an accusation is made are noteworthy, considering that the words in question came from a well known inspirer of certain bloody acts of diversion.

Nobody in this county has less right than Mr. Iliescu to look for the culprit of an incident such as the one in Timisoara. First of all because, as we have already mentioned, a big wrongdoer is not the best qualified person to invent, with minimum of credibility, other people's guilt. Secondly, because a person who violates the law with the obstinacy displayed by the Senate candidate, namely Ion Iliescu, does not have the moral standing to play the role of defender of the rule of the law.

What is more, Iliescu would be well advised not to give food for thought to the public, who is expecting him to take this opportunity to arrange so-called reprisals against those who attacked the supporters of the extremist presidential candidate in Timisoara and thus cause the climate of the election campaign to deteriorate. By blaming the CDR for the incident, our country's unworthy president seems to be launching an insidious call to order that could very well be compared to the call launched on 13 June 1990 when, under the pretext of condemning certain imaginary lawbreakers, he called the barbarians to Bucharest [reference to the miners' arrival in Bucharest].

Mr. Ion Iliescu is most seriously requested to show restraint, responsibility, and decency in the delicate situation created by Timisoara.

Will the law enforcement bodies really ensure order? The Police and the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] have the occasion to show everyone that they are indeed supporting the political groups that—just like the CDR—would like to see social peace and respect for the law, particularly when these have to be defended against our current almighty leaders.

Favorable Decision for Railway Union Leaders

AU2109164692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Excerpts] The meeting between Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan and the members of the consultative commission—set up by the Romanian prime minister to examine and evaluate the labor conflict between the Railway Free Trade Union Federation and the National Romanian Railway Company [SNCFR]—just ended a short while ago at the government headquarters.

The commission worked out a consultative report and reached the conclusion that the SNCFR did not have the right to cancel the labor contracts of the four employees involved in the conflict on disciplinary grounds, arguing that they were fired for having organized the strikes of 12 and 19 May 1992, as the said employees were acting in their capacity as elected members of the Railway Free Trade Union Federation leadership or that of the affiliated trade unions. [passage omitted]

We would like to mention that Prime Minister Stolojan met this morning with SNCFR representatives as well. After that meeting, SNCFR President Aurel Dumitrescu made a brief statement for the press, emphasizing the fact that the company executive protest the way in which the neutral expert commission examined the various aspects of the labor conflict between the SNCFR and the four hunger strikers.

Railway Company Protests Decision

AU2209073792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Concerning the statement made by Mrs. Ruxandra Tarjan, the president of the experts' commission instituted by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan with the assignment to examine the labor conflict between the four railway union leaders who are on a hunger strike and the National Railway Company, SNCFR, the company has sent us a communique that states:

While taking a stand concerning the issue at hand, the consultative commission has ignored the stipulations of Article 27 of Bill No. 54 on the activity of trade unions. That article states that trade unions have the right to make use of specific protest actions, including strikes, but only if legal provisions are met. Confusing union activity with the organization and the triggering of illegal strikes is a very serious juridical mistake that could encourage certain union leaders to organize and trigger new illegal strikes because they might think they are protected by the law. That would lead to chaos and disorder in the activity of the economic units and in the case of the national railways it could even lead to devastating rail accidents having dreadful consequences, including loss of human life.

The commission has also ignored other reasons that have led to the dismissal, on disciplinary grounds, of the four union leaders, as its decision textually mentions that it did not have the means to examine the correctness of all evidence, also declining competence in such matters.

To correctly inform public opinion and decisionmakers in Romania, the SNCFR administrative council will elaborate and publish a communique that will fully reveal all circumstances and the real reasons the SNCFR administration decided to dismiss, on disciplinary grounds, the persons who organized the strike that had been defined as illegal in court.

The text of the above communique is signed by the president of the SNCFR administrative council, Mr. Aurel Dumitrescu.

Latest Opinion Poll on Elections Published

AU2109141492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1313 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/9/1992—An opinion poll conducted by the Independent Center for Social Studies and Opinion Polls, whose results were printed in the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA of September 21, shows that in the presidential elections of September 27 the Democratic Convention candidate Emil Constantinescu will get 29.5 percent of the votes, Ion Iliescu, representing the Democratic National Salvation Front, 27.2 percent, Gheorghe Funar, running on the slate of the Romanian National Unity Party, 17.3 percent, Caius Dragomir, representing the National Salvation Front; 6.2 percent, Ioan Manzatu, running for the Republican Party, 5.2 percent, and independent [candidate] Mircea Druc 3.4 percent.

According to the opinion poll, [in parliamentary elections] 34.8 percent of the voters will vote for the Democratic Convention, 19.9 percent for the Democratic National Salvation Front, 17.8 percent for the Romanian National Unity Party, 12.5 percent for the National Salvation Front, 6.1 percent for National Liberal Party, 4 percent for the Agrarian Democratic Party, 2.8 percent for the Greater Romanian party, and so on.

As many as 49.1 percent of the 1,171 people polled said the parliamentary and presidential elections on September 27 would be fair and 14.7 percent said they would be unfair.

As for participation in voting, 83.3 percent of the people polled said they would vote. The poll also informs that 40.6 percent of the people polled said the future government would help surmount the crisis the country lives through.

Serbs Propose Opening 10 'Exit Corridors'

LD2209040192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2252 GMT 21 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Pale, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—Member of the leadership of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina Biljana Plavsic said on Monday [21 September] evening that the Serb side had proposed the "establishment of ten exit corridors for civilians in Sarajevo," the capital of the strife-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

After a meeting with the deputy commander of the U.N. Peacekeeping Force (UNPROFOR), General Philippe Morillon, Plavsic told the Bosnian Serbs' news agency SRNA that the French general had accepted the proposal and at the same time suggested that the first corridor be opened towards the suburb of Ilidza.

In a statement to SRNA General Morillon expressed a high level of optimism that "peace will be restored before the winter not only in Sarajevo but also elsewhere," but that the "process must begin in Sarajevo." "We also want to ensure the safety of humanitarian aid flights," he said.

He said he was an optimist because "good will exists on both sides for road, rail and other communications to be normalized as soon as possible, as well as the supply of electricity and running water." "Some progress has been made in that respect today," he said.

Muslims, Serbs Agree To Exchange Prisoners

LD2109221392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Pale, Sept. 21 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Serbs and Muslims in the ethnic strife-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Monday [21 September] reached agreement to exchange prisoners held in territories under their control, the Bosnian Serbs' news agency SRNA has reported.

The agency said the agreement had been concluded by the two sides' "state prisoner exchange commissions" at a meeting held at the airport in Sarajevo, the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital. [passage omitted]

The agreement does not cover prisoners held in areas controlled by the Croats.

The agency said agreement had also been reached for an unconditional exchange of the bodies of all dead under control of the U.N. Peacekeeping Force (UNPROFOR). It was also agreed that women and children would no longer be treated as prisoners and that they would be unconditionally released on the basis of evacuation lists.

It was also agreed that representatives of the two sides would continue to meet weekly at Sarajevo Airport.

Croats Announce Intention To Join Delegation

AU2109143792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation is waiting for the afternoon meeting with prepared principles on the future constitutional organization of the Republic. The members of the delegation spent the whole weekend intensively working on the document of concord with the Croatian part of the delegation, in which, everybody believes, a seat is being kept for Mate Boban.

Mariofil Ljubic, vice chairman of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, issued a statement for [word indistinct]: The delegation will put forward a coordinated paper. We have not avoided other talks, as they have so far been in accord with the reached agreements. We will make an offer that we think is realistic, and that can satisfy all the peoples of Bosnia. I believe that we agree on most issues.

Dr. Miljenko Brkic, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, told journalists before the meeting that he and Ljubic would be members of the delegation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, since the HDZ supported a unitary Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Since the organizers of the talks have sent out invitations to representatives of various ethnic groups, there will be an opportunity for a meeting between the representative of the Croatian people and the three chairmen of the Geneva talks. The Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation expects that Cyrus Vance will invite Mate Boban, president of the so-called Herceg-Bosnia, to today's talks.

Ganic 'Pleased' by Talks With UN General

AU2209071092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian

[Statement by Ejub Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Sarajevo on 21 September—recorded]

[Text] UN General Philippe Morillon and I discussed lifting of the blockade of the town of Sarajevo and lifting of the blockade of all access roads for the delivery of humanitarian aid. We also discussed the formation of a command center for all UN forces on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. As we know, 6,000 new soldiers are arriving, and this command center should be situated here, in Sarajevo. We discussed this today, and we will continue tomorrow to look for a suitable location for this center.

During the talks we concluded that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] should safeguard four conditions for the delivery of humanitarian aid. These conditions are to safeguard water, electricity, energy sources, and telephone lines to the residents. If these resources are not safeguarded, then even UNPROFOR will not be able to carry out its mission on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Naturally, we raised several other issues. As I have already said, the talks will continue tomorrow, and I personally am pleased with some of the views held by General Morillon who said that (?some results could be achieved) only by expanding the UN mandate, that is to say, mandate of the UN forces on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Muslims Excluded From Serb-Croat Talks in Zepca

LD2009143292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Teslic Press Center reports that while the soldiers of the 101st Teslic Brigade are bravely fighting and holding their positions, a delegation of Teslic Serb authorities, escorted by the military police of Zepca HVO [Croatian Defense Council] went to hold negotiations with HVO representatives in Zepca. This attitude is beginning to irritate the Muslims and a large number of Croats in this area. The negotiations are being held without the knowledge and participation of the Muslim representatives, and this is not the first such occasion.

Sarajevo Airport Reopens for UN Flights

LD2109125792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1217 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, September 21 (TANJUG)—The first United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) plane landed on Sunday [20 September] at Butmir Airport in Sarajevo, capital of the war-torn Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina where ethnic conflicts are being fought. The airport has been closed to all flights since September 3, said UNPROFOR spokesman.

The Zagreb-Sarajevo flight with UNPROFOR deputy commander Philippe Morillon was carried out thanks to written guarantees on the safe landing and take-off from Sarajevo's Butmir Airport and issued by all three warring sides.

The Muslim-Croatian coalition in Bosnia-Hercegovina with the help of units of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia have been fighting against the local Serbs for the past five months.

Sarajevo airport has been closed to all flights since September 3, because of fighting in its vicinity.

The UNPROFOR announcement says that after staying at the airport for 40 minutes, the plane returned to Zagreb with president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina (there are no elected representatives of the Serbs in this body) and his associates, who went to New York and the U.N. General Assembly session.

Council of Hercegovina Muslims Established

LD2109135292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] There have been no serious clashes on the Mostar battlefield today. Several shells fell on the town this morning, killing one woman and wounding two others.

Journalists today received information about a gathering of Muslim organizations and an organization of independent Muslim intellectuals. The gathering was attended by 236 Muslim representatives from Mostar, Jablanica, Capljina, Konjic, Stolac, Nevesinja, Gacko, and Prozor. The representatives have decided to set up a Council of Hercegovina Muslims [Vece Muslimana Hercegovina] with the main task of protecting interests of the Hercegovina Muslims and making certain that the Bosnia-Hercegovina constitutional system is being observed.

The Council of the Hercegovina Muslims condemns in its conclusions the conduct of the regional board of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Hercegovina and specifically its chairman Ismet Hadziosmanovic, and it revokes the right of the SDA regional board for Hercegovina to represent Muslims in the future. It then calls on all citizens of Hercegovina to jointly resist the aggression on the sovereign and internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It also supports all decisions of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina regarding the Croatian Defense Council and the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

Government Soldiers Report Shortage of Small Arms

AU1909132492 Paris AFP in English 1056 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 19 (AFP)—Fighting was picking up in Sarajevo Saturday after a quiet night, as gunfire and shelling intensified mostly at Stup to the southwest of the besieged Bosnian-Hercegovina capital.

Stup has been the site of battles for the last few days.

Over 300 people, many from a Bosnian special forces unit, attended a funeral Saturday morning at the Lion's cemetery where at least 10 Moslem soldiers killed during the last two days of fighting in Stup were buried.

The fighters under the command of Uka Prasena were wearing black uniforms and among them were several women dressed as soldiers, carrying Kalashnikoff automatic rifles. Many came directly from the battle front to pay a last tribute to their comrades.

Uka Prasena's unit is credited with stopping the Serbian advance on Stup.

According to soldiers attending the funeral, heavy fighting continued Saturday. They said many of their friends were wounded overnight by gunfire and shrapnel.

But they said they had few weapons, and that the only way to get new ones was to kill an enemy and take his weapon.

Commission Reports on Cease-Fire Breaches

LD2109151692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—A joint commission of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], EC observer mission, Croatian Government, and local Serb representatives has concluded that the Croatian Army is mainly responsible for frequent cease-fire breaches in the so-called pink zones in the sectors north and south, today's statement of the UNPROFOR Information Service says. A commission meeting held on 18 September in Maslenica concluded that the so-called Serb "special police force" is still present, although it has been withdrawing slowly from the demarcation line in the past few days. The commission also concluded that the practice of destroying homes of the minority population is again in evidence on both sides of the demarcation line, and that tensions about the Peruca power dam eased after UNPROFOR took over control of the dam. However, the same is not true about Drnis and Zemunik, where the security situation is problematic.

Because armed formations on both sides are in confrontational moods, provocations continue, and since there is no cease-fire, the commission concluded that it is imperative to withdraw infantry units from all positions around the line of conflict with the aim of normalizing the situation in the so-called hot spots. On the basis of the previous agreements between military and civilian authorities of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, it was agreed in Maslenica that "the special police force" be disarmed and demobilized by 20 October and that a regular civilian police force with just personal arms patrol pink zones.

The joint commission was set up on 30 June in line with UN Security Council Resolution 762 with the aim of considering the possibility of a gradual establishment of Croatian authority in the pink zones. Since being set up, the commission has met five times: on 31 July at Zemunik air field, and on 14 and 21 August and on 7 and 18 September, all in Maslenica.

UN Force Chief Urges 'Pink Zone' Demilitarization

LD2109214492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 21 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, September 21 (TANJUG)—General Arap Rob, commander of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops in the southern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) on Monday [21 September] called for a demilitarization of "pink zones," the neuralgic spots along the demarcation line between the RSK and Croatia.

The RSK had been proclaimed by Serbs in areas within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in which they make up a majority population in order to oppose Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and their status being downgraded to that of an ethnic minority. The RSK is currently under protection of U.N. peace-keepers.

General Rob told a press conference in the RSK centre of Knin that the halt in the implementation of the peace process in Sector South was the result of different interpretations of U.N. Security Council Resolution 762.

"Especially controversial is the question of 'pink zones' and the return of Croatian authority in these areas. The [word indistinct] police and UNPROFOR have voiced differences in that connection, primarily in view of jurisdiction," said General Rob.

In his view, law and order in 'pink zones' should be maintained by armed local police but without the presence of Krajina border police.

"The demand that Krajina's border police be demobilized by October 15 is unacceptable for security reasons," RSK Interior Minister Milan Martic told the press conference.

"In order to avoid all further differences in the interpretation of Security Council Resolution 762 and concerning the status of 'pink zones,' which are not mentioned in Cyrus Vance's plan, the authors of the peace plan will soon meet in Belgrade," said Martic.

He assessed Resolution 762 "and many others" as detrimental to the Serbian side, and added that "there is no condemnation of the other side even when it builds up troops on the RSK borders."

Martic voiced readiness to reduce the number of armed people in the RSK as soon as "threats stop."

He added that UNPROFOR's leaving Krajina territory would result in a fresh war.

Government Exhausts Food Supplies for Refugees

LD2209000592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Excerpt] The last food supplies were distributed today from the warehouse of the government office for refugees. Deliveries of humanitarian aid from abroad have again been drastically reduced. Jadranka Kosor reports:

[Kosor] Croatia is three to four truckloads short of all kinds of food for refugees on a daily basis. The completely exhausted warehouse of the government office for refugees confirms that benefactors have become tired; Croatia, which is providing for more than 600,000 homeless people, is no longer interesting. The West reacts to blood and the horrifying scenes of death. The fact that the majority of refugees are women and children, that the accommodations are enough only to protect them from the cold, is no longer too worrying. To tell the truth, large deliveries of highly valuable food—meat, powdered milk, and pasta—are due to be sent

from the EC office in mid-October. What do we do until then? The problem is that the government office for refugees has no more money to transport the food the benefactors are willing to send to Croatia. [passage omitted]

Paraga Advocates 'Unification' of Croatia

AU2109135992 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 21 Sep 92 pp 246-248

[Interview with Dobroslav Paraga, chairman of the Croatian Party of Justice, by DER SPIEGEL; place and date not given: "Murders Like in Sarajevo"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Paraga, your Croatian Defense Force [HOS] militias are currently fighting in almost all fronts in former Yugoslavia. When and where will the HOS fighters stop?

[Paraga] When they have reached our borders, the borders of unified Croatia. This corresponds to the present Republic of Croatia and the neighboring Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We want the two states to be unified into a joint republic of Croatia—in the same way and with the same right according to which the divided Germany was unified.

[DER SPIEGEL] But the Germans in east and west wanted unification. However, most Bosnians want to preserve their own state. What you want is an occupation.

[Paraga] No, in this war Bosnia-Hercegovina shows that it is on the Croats' side and not on the Serbs' side.

[DER SPIEGEL] This is no reason for a coercive unification of the two countries under military pressure....

[Paraga] Moreover, in the Middle Ages the royal houses of Bosnia and Croatia were closely related; both had the lilies that can now be seen again on the Bosnian flag in their coats-of-arms. Bosnia and Croatia are only bleeding because they are separated. If they were unified, Serbian aggression would be finished.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does this mean that your HOS is not only defending today's Croatia, but is also fighting on foreign territory in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Paraga] The HOS will fight until Greater Serbia is defeated. Therefore, it stands in Bosnia. All the territories that the Bosnian state controls were freed from the Serbs by the HOS—without support from abroad. The European politicians are letting Croatia down. Therefore, we would be glad if Muslim fighters, for example, Mojahedin from Afghanistan, came to help.

[DER SPIEGEL] It seems that no Arab legion has yet come forward.

[Paraga] But we have information on a large number of volunteers from various Islamic countries who have set out. If they fight for Bosnia, they will simultaneously fight for the Croatian people. In the end, Croatia will be indebted to the Islamic countries and not Western Europe.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who controls the HOS?

[Paraga] Officially, the supreme commander of the HOS in Bosnia is the Bosnian president. At the same time, however, the HOS commanders, as members of the Croatian Party of Justice, are attached to me.

I do not command the HOS myself. However, I exert influence on it because I prevented the outbreak of a civil war last November when thousands of HOS adherents streamed to Zagreb to free me from the custody pending trial into which I had been taken by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. There would have been murders here like in Sarajevo.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you also let your HOS fight against your compatriots?

[Paraga] I would never do this. That was precisely what I prevented, although President Tudjman is constantly provoking us. He calls again and again for the dissolution of the HOS. It is a fact that the Interior Ministry had my deputy, Ante Paradzik, killed and the murderers have not been punished until this day.

[DER SPIEGEL] There are estimates that the HOS has up to 30,000 men under arms. How strong is it really?

[Paraga] I do not want to comment on this. But go to the front and you will see that the HOS is very strong.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many foreign mercenaries are fighting in the HOS?

[Paraga] I do not have precise figures, but there are a lot. Most of them work as trainers. They are not mercenaries because they do not come for money. We also cannot pay them. They work under the same conditions as all other HOS soldiers. Thank God, we have more volunteers than we can arm.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where does the HOS get its weapons from?

[Paraga] We took most of them away from the Serbs. In addition, we have factories in central Bosnia that produce ammunition for us.

[DER SPIEGEL] There is reliable information that the HOS is also using brand new American weapons.

[Paraga] Yes, we have, for example, American M-16 automatic rifles and special weapons. We buy all this at a great expense.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who sells you these weapons?

[Paraga] There are many, a good many arms dealers in this world.

[DER SPIEGEL] Tell us at least the countries from which you are supplied.

[Paraga] I would not dream of blocking my channels of supply.

[DER SPIEGEL] And who pays for all that?

[Paraga] There are donations from all over the world.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your party is militarily strong, just as it is politically weak. In the last parliamentary elections, you just gained 6.8 percent. Tudjman gained more than 40 percent. The people do not seem to back the HOS and its dreams of Greater Croatia.

[Paraga] This is wrong. Tudjman's governing party rigged the election results. For example, they printed 3.5 million ballot papers more than there are persons entitled to vote. We know this from the print shop. And the completed ballot papers disappeared. Now there are only the lists with the election results, but no proof that they are correct. In the previous elections, we were far more supported than Tudjman, that turncoat communist.

[DER SPIEGEL] At any rate, Tudjman achieved, for example, international recognition of Croatia.

[Paraga] Yes, but he abandoned Croatian territory for the UN seat. He is negotiating with the Serbs in Belgrade, he is negotiating with the Serbs in Bosnia. Tudjman declared the end of the war as early as 10 months ago. But for which nation can a war be over as long as the enemy is still in the country? International recognition did not solve a single problem of the Croatian people.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your political opponents use to call you the new Ante Pavelic, a fascist or national socialist.

[Paraga] I am anticommunist and antifascist. I am Dobroslav Paraga, a Croatian patriot. In the same way as many in Europe are afraid of the united Germany, many are afraid of a united Croatia. This is the reason for all these lies.

[DER SPIEGEL] If you are no fascist, why do you and the HOS members use the fascist symbols of the ustasha, which was Hitler's ally?

[Paraga] The ustasha was not a fascist organization. In its fight against the Serbs, it only accepted help from the only one who provided it. That was Hitler. He helped us Croats, not as the leader of the Nazi party, but he helped as the leader of Germany.

[DER SPIEGEL] And now you miss him.

[Paraga] No, of course, we do not miss him. If the Europeans do not want to help, we will soon have Islamic soldiers here from states outside Europe, from Iran or Afghanistan. If we accept their help, somebody will label us Islamic fundamentalists, just as we have also been declared to be fascists, although we are neither the one nor the other. And everybody who fights for Croatia is welcome to us.

UN Force Peruca Dam Administration Discussed

92BA1400E Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by T. Pastar: "UNPROFOR Is 'Destroying' the Dam"—first paragraph is SLOBODNA DALMACIJA introduction]

[Text] UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] obviously cannot cope with the problem, and is on the way to becoming an accomplice in the destruction of the Peruca dam.

Sinj—While politicians are trying to convince us with their statements that the reduction in the consumption of electricity is the inevitable and only solution for Dalmatia, and the negotiations with the chetnik occupiers of the Peruca reservoir with the mediation of UNPROFOR and EC observers are not yielding any results, the Cetina River has been turned into a pond again, and the lake has once again threatened to endanger the population downstream along the river, all the way to its mouth.

Two days ago, representatives of the Croatian Army and the Croatian electrical industry had talks with high-ranking officials of UNPROFOR, to whom the Croatian side expressed optimism that enough water would flow from Peruca to operate the Dale and Zakucao hydroelectric power plants, thus ending the reduction. It was announced that that agreement would go into effect immediately. The only result so far is that the Cetina River's water level near Han, between Monday, when the talks were held and the agreements were reached, and Wednesday, has fallen from 32 to 29 centimeters, and is continuing to drop.

According to the regulations on the use of the Peruca reservoir, at this time of year the lake should have been emptied by at least 55 to 80 percent. The reservoir should not have gone beyond the elevation of 345 meters above sea level, because it is necessary to ensure room to receive the waves of water from the fall rains. Since the beginning of Peruca's operation, more than 30 years ago, the Croatian electrical industry's experts in practice have always kept an additional reserve, and at this time of year have lowered the lake's water level even below the standard set by the above-mentioned regulations.

According to the latest official data, the current elevation of the reservoir is ranging around 358 meters above sea level, which means that the lake is completely full. That situation at the reservoir represents a danger that people are obviously not concerned enough about, but the consequences may be on an unforeseeable scale. The potential danger was not any greater even at the end of last year, when the water of the reservoir reached the very top of the dam.

Already exhausted by everything, people in Sinj are not sounding the alarm, aware that it would only be an effort invested in vain. Specifically, when Sinj started to sound

the alarm at the end of last year, few people took them seriously. In the beginning, the problem of Peruca was marginalized in high-level politics, and the warnings from Sinj met with no response whatsoever. It was only when experts on high dams, with world reputations, spoke out, and when the erosive self-destruction of the dam was only a question of days, that the full seriousness of the problem was realized, both in Croatia and in the world.

The responsibility for Peruca is borne today by the UN, i.e., UNPROFOR, which assumed the task of implementing the Vance plan in this area, especially Resolution 762, which applies to the so-called pink zones, which include the entire area of the occupied part of the Sinj opstina. Have the UNPROFOR representatives in the field, however, realized the full seriousness of Peruca, and can they cope with this problem? Judging by their behavior to date, they are not.

With that kind of game the UNPROFOR representatives are on the way to becoming the chetniks' accomplices in the destruction of the Peruca dam. In fact, if rainy weather set in soon above the basin of the Cetina River, as is usual for the upcoming time of year, the flow of water into the reservoir would be larger than the maximum drainage capabilities, and then Peruca would be threatened by destruction, and the population along the Cetina all the way to Omis would be facing the danger of a flood.

Damage From Peruca Dam Blockade Detailed

92BA1411D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Nedjeljko Musulin: "Everything Bad Comes From Peruca"]

[Text] Sinj—The overflow locks at Peruca Dam are still lowered, so that there is still not enough water in the Cetina to operate the downstream hydroelectric power plants. Because of the shortage of electricity, production in Sinj opstina and central Dalmatia has almost ground to a complete halt, and the daily losses being suffered by the Dalmatian economy amount to 432 million Croatian dinars.

The major and intolerable reduction in electricity is a topic of discussion at all levels in Sinj opstina and in Dalmatia and at gatherings of EC and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] observers. Nevertheless, the Chetnik blockade of "Peruca" continues, as do armed provocations on the Sinj battlefield. The deadline for Chetniks and Serbian terrorists to leave all of the so-called pink zone of Sinj opstina has long since passed, but the "Peruca" hydroelectric plant, together with its dam, accumulation, equipment, and other structures, remain outside the control of Croatian authorities, the Croatian Electric Power Industry, the UN peacekeeping forces, and EC observers.

UNPROFOR is situated not far from the occupiers' positions, in the area below Alebici. Strongholds are in the village of Alebici (the Gara house) in Hrvace, right next to the Sinj-Vrlika main highway. Even on Saturday, EC and UNPROFOR observers did not keep the promise that they had made two or three days earlier at a meeting in Sinj when they said that the water would be flowing soon. But the population of the Cetina region and of all of central Dalmatia still lives in the hope that one of these days the downstream hydroelectric power plants will resume operation.

What if there is extraordinary trouble at one of the power plants on the Cetina downstream from the Peruca Dam, because of which it does not produce electric energy, which according to experts would cause additional damage? It is useless to say what could happen tomorrow, but even worse to predict new problems. Because Dalmatia has been seriously threatened by darkness, thirst, and fire from the aggressors' outposts, all from the direction of Peruca and because of the Chetnik occupation.

Effects of New Slovene Crossings Viewed

92BA1400F Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by Dusko Topalovic: "The Croatian 'Dead Triangle' Has To Be Overcome"—first paragraph is SLOBODNA DALMACIJA introduction]

[Text] What Rupel and Jeszenszky said at the opening of the new Slovene-Hungarian border crossings; Slovenia wants an exclusive transit role for itself between Trieste and Budapest; the rivalry of Rijeka and Koper overshadowed by the most powerful competitor, Trieste; will the Zagreb-Ljubljana connection depend on territorial concessions by the Croatian side?; challenges to all Croats, from international negotiators to diggers on the Zagreb-Rijeka road.

At the time of the Bosnia-Hercegovina war, armed attacks against the Republic of Croatia, and on the eve of the London conference on the former Yugoslavia, not much media attention was paid to the news about the opening of new border crossings between our neighboring states, Slovenia and Hungary. Since the opening of these crossings was attended by the heads of state and foreign ministers of both sides, it is obvious that maximum political attention is being paid to the significance of the new border crossings.

To the Republic of Croatia, it is an additional indication of Slovenia's transit ambitions, with a competitive attitude toward our geopolitical position and the expected exploitation of that state's location between central Europe and the Adriatic. The central European corridor between the Baltics and Pannonia along the Berlin-Prague-Vienna-Budapest transit axis has three key extensions in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Currently, the route toward the central Balkans (Belgrade-Nis), with its branch-lines toward Greece and Romania,

is out of competition. In fact, this route is "continental" in its orientation, and provides the transit integration of the Serbian area between Pannonia and the trans-Danube region with the Aegean basin and then Asia Minor. Its exclusivism is not absolutely ensured, however, since the detour through Romania and Bulgaria is potentially competitive. While this possible transit rivalry between Serbia and Romania depends on several future geopolitical events in the so-called Balkan nucleus, the competition between Slovenia and Croatia began as early as their independence. The transportation routes through these states link the Hungarian "economic core region" (the Budapest area) and the Adriatic ports, whose economic survival is ensured only through links with the broader central European hinterland. Consequently, Rijeka and Koper will be favorite ports in their states, with the above-mentioned function, but in addition to their mutual rivalry they also have to count on the regionally strongest competitor, Trieste.

In a geopolitical sense, the Trieste hinterland is Slovene, and so Slovene-Italian state cooperation, which in certain transit aspects excludes Croatian interests, is facilitated by spatial logic. De Michelis's initiative for linking northern Italy (Milan-Trieste) with Budapest and Kiev as the center of the Baltic-Black Sea corridor, and at the same time on the way to Moscow, cannot encompass Croatian territory as well. In that regard, the statement uttered by Mr. Rupel at the opening of the Slovene-Hungarian border crossings is significant—that "the Slovene Government supports the project of a road from Trieste through Maribor and Lendava to the border with the Republic of Hungary, and further on to Budapest." Furthermore, his Hungarian colleague, Mr. Jeszenszky, added: "...that even stronger cooperation and assistance will be necessary in determining the route for the road from Trieste through Lendava to Budapest, so that it will harm the environment as little as possible and be as economical as possible." Consequently, Slovenia wants an exclusive transit role for itself between Trieste and Budapest. Koper, in the vicinity of this corridor, has the role of the secondary Adriatic port (after Trieste), while Rijeka and Zagreb can be bypassed.

The Republic of Croatia would be seriously harmed, in transportation terms and economically in general, by this kind of project, because an attempt is being made to suppress the competitiveness of the Croatian Pannonian-Adriatic corridor as much as possible. Croatia consequently has to modernize the transportation links between Rijeka and Zagreb toward Hungary itself; this requires large monetary investments, but Italy's attitude may be decisive for the approval of foreign loans. Does this mean that the Croatian "connection" (Zagreb-Ljubljana) to the planned highway link between Trieste and Budapest may be dependent upon territorial concessions by Croatia in the case of establishing the sea border with neighboring Slovenia? The intergovernmental border along the Dragonja river, the establishment of the sea border in the Piran bay, and the geopolitical status of the Savudrija cape are several potentially controversial issues, the controversy of which may be artificially caused by the Croatian side. In addition to a favorable determination of the sea border, however, it is even more important to Slovenia to acquire fishing rights in the Croatian territorial sea, something in which Italy also has a long-term interest.

Consequently, in central European transit integration, Italy may favor Slovenia at the expense of Croatian interests, and European promotion of Croatia's transit role may be dependent upon certain geopolitical concessions by the Croatian side. The political and geographic realities in central Europe are such that this living entity can easily function economically, even without the Croatian national territory, next to which a "Slovene buffer zone" has been created in any case, whose central European integration is under way. Europe's broader interest, however, naturally does not lie in Croatia's geopolitical isolation and its being bypassed in transit terms, but concessions may be demanded because otherwise only "crumbs" are offered from the European table. Now it is a matter of the intelligence and work of all Croatian citizens, from international negotiators to those who are currently digging the Zagreb-Rijeka road, to respond to the challenges imposed, on the basis of their own knowledge and ability. Outside assistance is necessary, but it may imply political extortion, and so it is necessary to find carefully a course whose starting point is the internationally recognized Croatian borders on land and at sea before the collapse of the SFRY, and whose destination is the Croatian Republic's geopolitical and economic integration into the economic circle of central Europe.

Croatian Official Protests Acts in 'Pink Zone'

92BA1411F Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by Ivica Marijacic: "Sime Prtenjaca Writes Thornberry Again: 'Protection or Helplessness?'"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] Zadar—On Friday the chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Zadar opstina, Sime Prtenjaca, who is also the coordinator for civilian affairs in the South Sector for the government of the Republic of Croatia, sent a letter to the UNPROFOR director for civilian affairs, Cedric Thornberry, in which he said the following:

"In recent days, there has been an extremely intensified amount of arson and destruction of the bare remnants of Croatian villages in the occupied territory of Zadar opstina, the so-called pink zone. We have issued protests on several occasions, the last one having been lodged with the South Sector delegation led by Mr. Echard on Thursday. Today, however, we have received new information on the crimes of systematic destruction of the towns of Skabrnja, Novigrad, and others. Instead of providing for implementation of the third phase of the Vance plan and making it possible for the Croatian

population to return, you are helplessly watching as the last remnants of Croatian homes are destroyed.

"I ask that you move quickly to protect the remaining Croats and Croatian towns in the occupied territory of the South Sector. I also demand that you move quickly to establish a date for the beginning of implementation of the third phase, and that you inform the UN Security Council and Secretary General Butros Butrus-Ghali about the aforementioned crimes and your helplessness. I also protest the incessant games with the overflow system at the 'Peruca' hydroelectric power plant. If you are incapable of solving the problem, then we also ask that you notify the UN Security Council of this.

"Mr. Thornberry, if things continue as they are, we will soon no longer have any need for your 'protection' of the Croatian population, property, and settlements. Time is running out: Wake up, wake up the UNPROFOR mission, wake up the UN Security Council before it is too late. We ask that you notify us of the measures taken," concludes the letter of protest sent by the chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Zadar opstina sent to Cedric Thornberry, the director of civilian affairs for UNPROFOR.

Exiled Croats Seek Return to Novigrad Region

92BA1411C Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Margareta Zouhar: "'We Seek Speedy Return': Press Conference on Problem of Return of Exiled Persons to Novigrad and Surrounding Towns"]

[Text] Zagreb—"The inhabitants of Novigrad, Paljuv, Pridraga, and Podgradina ask that they be allowed to return to their region of birth under the same conditions under which Serbs were allowed to return to Crno, Smokovic, and Gornji Zemunik. These four Zadar opstinas are populated by an ethnically pure population." This was the message from the president of the Novigrad Homeland Society, Vedran Sinovcic, at a press conference called on Saturday concerning the problem with the return of exiled persons to Novigrad and the surrounding towns. According to Sinovcic and in the opinion of the Homeland Society as well, all the conditions have been met for the return.

Novigrad was definitively occupied on 31 December of last year, and the inhabitants, numbering around 4,000, are in exile in Zadar, Pag, Petrcani, Rijeka, and Zagreb.

"Since the fall of Novigrad, 13 people have died in exile. A reconnaissance brigade has provided us with details about the military situation in those four local communities of Zadar opstina. Because of the very difficult conditions under which the exiled persons are currently living, we have informed Vice Prime Minister Vladimir Seks and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees of our intention to conduct an organized return. However, we have received no response whatsoever. We received a negative response from the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] commander for civilian questions in the South Sector. Novigrad is in a 'pink zone,' but it has never been included in Vance's plan. UNPROFOR has completed the second phase, the goal of which was to move heavy arms, and that is as far as they have gone. The third phase, the disbanding and disarming of the Chetnik units, has not been carried out," Vedran Sinovcic said. "What is the Croatian Government doing to accelerate this process, who is negotiating on the local level and how, and what are the gentlemen from UNPROFOR doing when they cannot carry out the third phase?" Sinovcic asked.

"The people in exile were given a deadline of 1 September for their return. That deadline has come and gone, the people are tense and impatient, and we have received no response whatsoever from the Croatian authorities. The Zadar police have told us that they understand the people's desire to return, but that they are obligated to prevent any return without instructions from the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs]," Sinovcic added.

The president of the Novigrad Homeland Society said that a plan for reconstruction and development has already been drawn up, and they have also contacted 10 or so factories that will help in the reconstruction of those local communities. One Munich municipality even wants to invest in agriculture in this region.

"After returning, we would immediately organize health care and open up trade.... We have several tugboats full of food, furniture, and household appliances from abroad that we will distribute to people. From the Croatian government we will request the minimum for reconstruction, but we will ask that they allow us a speedier return," the president of the Novigrad Homeland Society, Vedran Sinovcic, said in closing.

Proposal on Ministries Changes Discussed

92BA1392D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 92 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Government Proposal on Changes in State Administration: Fewer Ministries"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] Besides three state ministries—for defense, internal affairs, and foreign affairs—there will be another 11 ministries and six independent state administrative agencies.

Zagreb—State administration in Croatia will be organized into three state ministries, 11 ministries, and six independent state administrative agencies. This proposal was considered at a meeting of the Croatian government held on Friday and presided over by the prime minister, Eng. Hrvoje Sarinic. In this way, the number of ministries is reduced from 20 to 14, according to the announcement from the government meeting.

According to the Draft Proposal for the Adoption of a Law on the Structure and Domains of Ministries and Other Agencies of State Administration, the state ministries are the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The explanation offered by the Ministry of Justice and Administration, which drew up the proposed law, says that "the state ministries are established to perform the work of state administration based on the competence of the Republic of Croatia, which cannot be transferred to other bodies, while certain authorities in the performance of this work are held by the president of the Republic of Croatia."

The other ministries appear under new and changed names in accordance with the work that they will perform, or come into being through the merger of existing ministries. According to the explanation of the proposal, they are established to perform the work of state administration for one or more administrative tasks, the scope of which is stipulated by law, while some work can be partially delegated to other bodies outside the state administration. These are the Ministry of Industry, Shipbuilding, and Energy; the Ministry of Finance; the Ministry of Justice and Administration; the Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Transportation, and Communication; the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry; the Ministry of Culture and Education; the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare; the Ministry of Tourism and Trade; the Ministry of Construction and Environmental Protection; the Ministry of Health; and the Ministry of Science.

Other state administrative agencies are structured primarily to perform specialized, administrative, and other jobs, the performance of which demands special services and independence. These are the State Hydrometeorological Institute, the State Institute for Statistics, the State Institute for Standardization and Measures, the State Hydrographical Institute, and the State Institute for Macroeconomic Analysis and Prognosis.

After discussion at the government meeting, it was proposed that the State Institute for International Scientific-Technical Cooperation become part of the Ministry of Science. The Agency for Restructuring and Development and the Croatian Fund for Development will continue to function as independent juristic persons.

Under the same proposed law, the Ministry of Emigre Affairs, the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Economic Development, and the Ministry of Reconstruction will be abolished. Tasks from the domains of these ministries will be redistributed to other ministries in order to achieve uniformity and balance in their structures and domains, with an emphasis on more efficient activity in the process of developing the modern Croatian state. Within the framework of their domains, all ministries are obliged to continue implementing the reconstruction program of the Republic of Croatia, and the president coordinates the activities of government bodies in connection with national reconstruction.

The draft law on the government of the Republic of Croatia also contains certain significant innovations. Following the abolition of the Ministry of Information, specialized tasks regarding relations between the state and the public are performing by a special government office responsible for public relations. "An office with this sort of focus would make it possible to achieve the goal of having the Assembly, president, and Government of the Republic of Croatia, as well as other bodies of state administration, communicate with the domestic and foreign public from one place." Under the same proposed law, the secretary of the government gains the position of member of the government, but without the genuine right to participate in decisionmaking. According to the proposal, the prime minister and members of the government take a solemn oath before the president of the Republic of Croatia and the Assembly.

Slovene-Croatian Talks on Relations Viewed

92BA1430A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Sep 92 p 3

[Article by M.J.: "Warmer Breezes in Relations Between Slovenia and Croatia"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Sep—Talks between groups of experts from both governments; readiness for ratification.

Yesterday there was a meeting at Otocac between groups of experts from the Slovene and Croatian Governments, headed by Slovene Government adviser Dr. Andrej Kumar and Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Vinko Kandzija. The delegations talked about how to improve cooperation and settle unresolved issues in relations between the two states.

They talked about the economic cooperation agreement. They agreed that it had been well prepared, and that the Croatian side was also prepared to ratify it. Then they talked about the payment agreement, regarding which "there were no major complications."

As we learned from well-informed circles, the Slovene delegation thought that the meeting was very successful. During this commission's work, one could perceive willingness to cooperate on the Croatian side. They also talked about the mutual claims that arose before Slovenia's independence last October. Next week a Croatian Government delegation is to come to Slovenia to discuss, among other things, the four [as published] agreements already mentioned. Several annexes are to be added to the cooperation agreement. In the case of the payment agreement, there are two texts (the original and the translation), and individual terminology differences that arose during the translation still have to be cleared up.

With respect to fishing issues, we learned that the Croats promised that they would not create any problems before matters are regulated by an agreement.

National Party Leader Replies to Charges

92BA1418A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Sep 92 p 2

[Article by Marko Pecauer: "The Conflict in Slovenia's Leadership Has Burst Upon the SNS"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 Aug—Zmago Jelincic did not want to talk about the names of the people whose different ideas are conflicting with each other; the police preempted the intention of the party's members.

We have already written in DELO about the affair in connection with Zmago Jelincic, president of the SNS [Slovene National Party]. Today, we also spoke with Zmago Jelincic, who is at liberty again to explain to us his view of everything that has happened in connection with him.

First of all, we were interested in how he explained the large amount of weapons found in his possession. "Our party advocates the legalization of weapons and the regulation of weapons law in accordance with the Swiss model, where everyone can carry a weapon," Zmago Jelincic stated. "I am also participating myself in the ministry's preparation of the new Slovene weapons law. Our party has tried to show that it also adheres to what it is saying. I have spread the idea among SNS members that the weapons left after the Slovene war (there is still an enormous amount of such weapons, even though the police can't find anything) should be returned to the Slovene authorities. Our members, however, did not want to return the weapons to the police in person because they were afraid that the police would jail them. They were afraid of police reprisals, since they assumed that the police would not receive this action as a gesture of good will. That is why we agreed that I would take over all these weapons and hide them someplace. Just before the elections, we intended to turn these weapons over to the appropriate authorities, naturally in the presence of the media, so that we could also score some political points. What happened, however, is that the police preempted everything."

Zmago Jelincic does not deny that according to the legislation in effect, this is illegal arms possession. "If these weapons had been gathered anywhere else, we really could say that it was a criminal act. Weapons are best hidden when very few people know about them. As the party's president, I took over that task. We also agreed that I would not tell the members of the party who had contributed what piece of weaponry."

The SNS president is convinced that the affair has a deeper political background. "Everything happened on the same day as the party's congress in Kocevje. They thought that by arresting me and also several obcina committee chairmen, they would cause the party to collapse and keep the congress from being held. The congress was held, however—even though it was a truncated one—and it also passed certain resolutions that we will present in even more detail at a press conference at the end of the week. We will repeat the congress.

"The action against the SNS was already planned half a year ago, and more intensive preparations took place over the last two months. The party received several reports and hints, but no one thought that they would go so far as to descend to such schemes as, for example, accusations about preparations for the assassination of Slovene politicians.

"It was a well-planned action to destroy democratic aspirations in Slovenia. Our party bothers them a great deal, since it is the only one fighting against Slovenia's being pushed back into Yugoslav waters. This idea is still very welcome to many people, as was shown at the recent London conference. It is essentially a conflict at the highest level of Slovene politics, where two interests are in conflict: the interest of some sort of return to Yugoslavia, which is also supported by part of the government, and the interest of those who respect the Slovene population's decision in the plebiscite on Slovenia's

autonomy and independence. This conflict has now burst upon the SNS." Jelincic did not want to state more specifically the names of those whom he had in mind in this regard.

Zmago Jelincic is convinced that in spite of this affair, the SNS will achieve great success in the future elections. In his opinion, this is precisely what many people are so afraid of. He is also cautious himself: "I constantly receive threats, by telephone, in writing, etc. Several of our obcina committee chairmen have been attacked. When my lawyer came back from Maribor, where he was when they jailed me, people were waiting for him in front of his house and beat him up to some extent. His nose and jaw were broken. It is not known who did it."

Slovenia To Become Member of Council of Europe

92BA1430B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 12 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by U.I.: "Slovenia Has Met All the Council of Europe's Conditions"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Sep—The committee of the Parliamentary Assembly from Strasbourg is satisfied, and is announcing admission for next spring.

A few days ago, the Committee for Relations With European Nonmember States of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, which is one of three working bodies whose opinion and recommendation play a decisive role in handling the Republic of Slovenia's request for admission as a full-fledged member of the Council of Europe, visited Ljubljana at the invitation of Dr. France Bucar, chairman of the Slovene Assembly.

The committee's chairman, David Atkinson, announced at a press conference that Slovenia met all the conditions for admission, and that our state would probably be recognized as a full-fledged member of the Council of Europe as early as next spring. The members of the large commission, which include members of many European states, in talks with President Milan Kucan, Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, and chairman of the Slovene Assembly, Dr. France Bucar, obtained a clearer idea of Slovenia, which in the opinion of the committee's chairman had achieved undoubted progress in parliamentary democracy. The committee also met with representatives of various human rights groups, and determined that Slovenia met the conditions for admission to full membership in this respect as well.

At the press conference, which was held by Borut Pahor, David Atkinson praised the Slovene Government's attitude toward ethnic minorities in our state. The Slovene and Austrian Government will talk further about the German minority in Slovenia, which has about 1,500 members and is demanding exactly the same rights that the Italian and Hungarian minorities have. As Pahor reported, Dr. Drnovsek will also participate in the next session of the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly, which will be from 30 September to 7 October in Strasbourg. As is customary for new members, he will make the opening speech, and then he will answer questions from the European parliamentarians.

Formation of First Regional Party Discussed

92BA1418B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Sep 92 p 2

[Article by M.S.: "Regional Party in Styria"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Maribor, 2 Sep—The program of the first regional party in Slovenia is oriented toward Styrian problems.

"We want to form the party after the model of modern European parties; it will operate regionally in the area of Styria," stated Dr. Vladimir Rudl, its vice president, after the founding meeting of the Styrian Democratic-Christian Party.

The party's founding meeting, which was publicly announced to the residents of Maribor back at the end of July, adopted a statute and program guidelines that are to be supplemented in detail by the end of September; by the end of the year, the party is also to get a full leadership.

"The word 'Christian' in the name does not mean an alliance with the Christian Democrats or any sort of ideological coloration of the party. All those interested in our program can join it. In that program, we have devoted particular attention to economic issues, preserving and establishing new jobs, and establishing ties with foreign partners; issues in the area of health care and social welfare will also have an important place," Dr. Rudl said.

Federal

Radical Party President: Panic 'Real Traitor'

AU2209070492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Interview with Vojislav Seselj, Serbian Radical Party president, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] As the political crisis is becoming more acute, and the noose of the sanctions around Yugoslavia's neck becomes tighter, the misunderstandings between the federal prime minister and the political parties that allegedly promoted him are becoming increasingly obvious. The phrase—the betrayal of national and state interests—is mentioned increasingly frequently in their statements.

In reply to the criticism that, by asking to be admitted to the United Nations, he betrayed the country, the prime minister yesterday replied in kind to the presidents of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Serbian Radical Party. In this program Vojislav Seselj replies to this statement.

[Seselj] When politicians start accusing one another of betrayal, it is very difficult to control this matter. This usually ends in some inevitable phrases and more serious conflicts. In this case I think that we should look at the essence of the matter. I would therefore like to ask Mr. Panic to support his accusation with arguments, and I will immediately provide a chief argument in support of the accusation that he is a real traitor.

He himself proposed to the West how best to deal with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Moscow several days ago. He himself provided them with a scenario that they later carried out in practice, offering capitulation in advance. There is no world statesman, a successful politician, or a military commander who would offer capitulation themselves, and who would show the enemy how to defeat them.

[Reporter] Do you think a different solution was possible?

[Seselj] Yes. We are interested in membership in the United Nations, primarily because we want to preserve the international-legal continuity of the Yugoslav state. What is the purpose of being in the United Nations at all if we cannot preserve that? We are not interested in the United Nations for any other reason.

Therefore, I think that we should fight to the end not to be expelled from the United Nations. If, after all, they expel us, we should never again submit an application for membership in this world organization. There will be nothing for us there. After all, in a few years, in five or six years at the most, the United Nations will disintegrate by itself because it cannot tolerate the constant guardianship of the U.S. policy. The United States has the United Nations in its own hands, and this will mark the end the world organization.

Those who voted in favor of Panic at the last assembly session assumed great responsibility, above all the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro. They will be responsible for all the consequences if he remains the head of the Federal Government.

Assembly Committee Discusses UN Resolution

LD2109173692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Assembly is to establish as soon as possible the "threshold" of the national and state interest below which Yugoslavia will not be ready to make concessions to the world, the Citizens' Chamber Committee for Political and Economic Relations with Foreign Countries decided today.

Deputies discussed the latest Security Council resolution that recommends that Yugoslavia's participation in the UN General Assembly be suspended, and requests the government and relevant ministries to examine its consequences thoroughly—the insistence on Yugoslavia's continuity, as well as other possible solutions.

Additional reports are expected following Prime Minister Panic's return from New York, and from our representatives in the United Nations, which the Federal Assembly will discuss, and also adopt a decision on national and state interests.

Interpreting the latest Security Council resolution, Slavko Sukovic, ambassador in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed that it is a typical example of political and legal violence.

The resolution is without precedent because it is not based on the UN Charter, and because this is the first time that the Security Council has authorized itself to reach a decision on whether a state exists or not, Sukovic noted.

Ambassador Sukovic assessed that the resolution is a consequence of the continuous pressure on Yugoslavia regarding solutions to the whole Yugoslav crisis, adding that the resolution also plays a certain role in the American President's campaign. According to him, the resolution is ambiguous because it gives rise to different interpretations, which has already started happening. Sukovic noted the opposite interpretations of the United States and Russia. For the United States, a state which does not exist cannot be a member of the United Nations, while for Russia, Yugoslavia has not been suspended and can be active in all bodies of the world organization.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as Sukovic said, holds that the resolution is not closing all doors to the recognition of the continuity of the Yugoslav state because it contains a sentence stating that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not automatically succeed the SFRY. That means that it can (although it does not have to) succeed it in some other way, he added.

The ministry also found reasons for such interpretation in a decision of the UN Security Council to reexamine this issue before the end of the UN General Assembly session. Yugoslav elections, cessation of hostilities, the Geneva negotiations and also, as Sukovic said, the elections in the United States will then have an influence on new UN General Assembly decisions. [passage omitted]

Science Minister Comments on 'Brain-Drain'

LD1809175992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1159 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The brain-drain from Yugoslavia has assumed dramatic proportions in the past two years, Federal Minister for Science and Technology Vlastimir Matejic said on Thursday [17 September].

Two-thirds of the experts and scientists that have left the country are young people at the beginning of their careers, according to incomplete data released by the ministry.

Matejic believes that about two thousand scientists from the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro live abroad, though neither the federal nor republican ministries of science are sure of the exact number.

The emigration wave in the 1960s and 1970s deprived Yugoslavia of many workers, whereas the flow of intellectuals began in the last decade. Last year 54 scientific workers, most of them with MS' [Master of Science] and PhD's [Doctor of Philosophy], left the biggest scientific institution in Belgrade - the Institute for Nuclear Sciences in Vinca, plus another 32 so far this year, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes on Thursday.

"During its boom years, the institute had a staff of 1,500, while it now has only 900," said Dr Miroslav Kopecki, the director of Vinca.

The Federal Ministry for Science made initial efforts this month to establish contact with Yugoslav scientists and experts abroad.

"When foreign experts start seeking work in Yugoslavia, we will know this is a fortunate country," said Matejic.

Serbia

Jokanovic Assesses Panic Statement on Bombardment

LD2109180692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Pristina, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Vukasin Jokanovic, a deputy speaker of the Serbian Assembly, today assessed "as a pure conjencture" part of yesterday's statement by Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic about his efforts to prevent planned bombardments of Sarajevo and Belgrade.

The aim of Panic's statement is to ascribe to himself plaudits which objectively he does not deserve, Jokanovic stressed in talks with the management of the JEDINSTVO newspaper enterprise. According to him, there was no bombardment of Sarajevo and Belgrade because America and Western powers were not prepared to get involved in such an adventure.

The deputy speaker also said that 50 days of Federal Government rule was too short a period of time to speak about its achievement, but he noted that in that period "mistakes, excessive claims and hasty moves which harmed us were made." [passage omitted]

Federally Sponsored Education Program Outlined

LD1909015892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Pristina, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—A draft program for the resolution of the education problem which the Albanian national minority in Kosovo and Metohija faces, which has recently been put forward by the Federal Government, was today made public for the first time by Pristina daily JEDINSTVO. The program contains basic goals which should "try to make a historical turning point" in relations between the Serbs and the Albanian minority and should lead towards the beginning of the process of practical solution of problems "which affect a great number of families and individuals among the Albanian minority and other nations and minorities."

The draft program says at the beginning that it has been drawn up on the basis of the constitutional power and obligation that education and cultural rights of national minorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be secured, that its constitutional and legal framework should proceed from the status of Kosovo and Metohija as an inalienable part of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In the 14-point program, the Federal Government holds that it is of vital importance to secure the normal beginning, even with a certain delay, of the Albanian-language elementary school education. In order to achieve that, a specific part of the program should be drawn up which would deal with national culture and history of Albanians and the Albanian minority in Kosovo and Metohija.

The government also holds that a normal beginning of education in the Albanian language should be secured for those secondary schools in which the Albanian minority is interested and where cadre and other possibilities exist. It is suggested that negotiations should begin to resolve the issue of verifying the previous two academic years for Albanian pupils in elementary schools. The pupils will be expected to sit exams in the subjects they failed to master. Students will be able to complete courses they began under the then valid regulations. Under a proposal, the blockade of the Albanian-language media will be lifted.

Under one of the points, financial and expert help will be asked from the European Council to set up experimental bilingual classes in elementary schools in accordance with the concept of interculturalism, in other words, in mixed classes Serbian and Albanian children will be taught the culture of both nations and their interdependence.

With the help of the EC, the federal state, and the republic of Serbia a program of professional adult education will be drawn up with the aim of helping the strucutural transformation of the Kosovo economy and adjusting educational strucuture to the needs of economy. The government is of the view that a program should be drawn up to help educate the entire Kosovo-Metohija population for life in a democratic pluralist society as well as a program of education in the sphere of human rights and intercultural understanding.

It is also proposed that experts from Kosovo-Metohija be asked to help to draw up the law on national minorities. It is urged that work should begin immediately to resolve the issue of equal status for teachers and lecturers of Albanian nationality in elementary and secondary schools and Pristina University. The issue should be tackled within the competences of the republic of Serbia in this sphere and a differing approach should be applied in indivudal cases depending on the reasons why employment had been terminated.

The last, the 14th point, states that in the 1992-93 academic school year those schools, study groups and faculties in which classes are conducted in Albanian and for which objective conditions exist should be opened. For the re-opening of other higher-education schools, study groups and faculties, which could contribute to resolving the regional economic and cultural problems in Kosovo, the Federal Government believes that a feasibility survey should be urgently drawn up with the help of the OECD and the EC. Possibilities offered by the law on the University of the Republic of Serbia, which provides for the opening of private universities, should be used as well.

This program, JEDINSTVO says, should be jointly examined by the Federal Government, the Government of Serbia, and representatives of the Albanian minority from Kosovo and Metohija, and would be followed by an operational program of measures which will precisely define who should be responsible for its implementation, within which deadline, and in what way. Services of the CSCE mission of goodwill for Kosovo and Metohija, Vojvodina and Sandzak, would be used in particular in establishing contacts with the Albanian minority representatives.

According to a statement made by JEDINSTVO, an integral part of the federal government's draft program is a letter by the Serbian Ministry of Education addressed to the federal Ministry of Education and Culture, which lists measures which the Serbian Government has adopted to regulate the opening of the Albanian-language schools and outlines efforts to establish contacts with Albanian representatives which, as is known, have been rejected so far.

Reactions From Kosovo, Metohija

LD1909165592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1403 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Pristina, Sept. 19 (TANJUG)—First reactions to the Federal Government's proposal on how to resolve the problem of the Albanian-language classes in the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija are mainly negative and completely different depending on which side they are coming from.

Rector of the Pristina University Radivoje Popovic said the proposal meant that the problem of Kosmet be internationalized, which is the main objective of the separatist leadership of ethnic Albanians who constitute a national minority in the F.R. Yugoslavia.

Fehmi Agani, vice-president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK), the strongest ethnic Albanians' party, said not a single political subject of ethnic Albanians could accept the constitutional-legal basis of the programme, treating the Albanians as a national minority and Kosmet as an integral part of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Popovic, in a statement to TANJUG on Saturday, criticized the acceptance of "good offices" of the OECD and the CSCE which, he said, made it easer for Albanian separatists to involve the international factor in the problem of Kosmet.

In the 14-point programme, the Federal Government proposed a specific curriculum for Albanian-language elementary schools which would include the national history and culture of the Albanians and Albanian minority in Kosmet.

The predominantly Albanian populated Kosmet has a strong separatist movement which calls for Kosovo to secede from Serbia and join neighbouring Albania.

Political parties of ethnic Albanians do not recognize Serbia's competences also in education and are putting pressure on Albanian school children and professors to boycott the official curriculum.

Popovic said the classes of Albanian language and literature at the Pristina University included elements of the national history. He expressed readiness that the university introduce separate classes of national history and culture of the Albanian minority.

The Pristina Albanian-language daily BUJKU said on Saturday the government's programme could resolve not one of the basic education problems.

Albanians Reject Program

LD2109222892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, September 21 (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanians from the Serbian Province of Kosovo-Metohija (Kosmet) do not accept the program of the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the normalization of classes in the Albanian language in Kosmet.

The Yugoslav Government proposed 14 points for regulating [words indistinct]. The proposals include, among other things, specific lessons on Albanian national culture and history and the national culture and history of the Albanian minority in Kosmet in a section of the teaching program for Albanian language elementary schools. As planned, some school programs are to be drawn up with help from international organizations, including the organization of European Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

As soon as it was published in the media late last week, the Yugoslav Government program was rejected as unacceptable by political parties of ethnic Albanians. The main objection was that the program speaks about ethnic Albanians as a national minority, and about Kosmet as an integral part of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

A strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians has been active in Kosmet for quite some time. The movement urges the secession of Kosmet from Serbia and its annexation to the neighbouring Republic of Albania. Parties of ethnic Albanians do not recognize the authority of Serbia in the area of education and are pressuring ethnic Albanian students and professors into boycotting classes which follow official programs of the Republic of Serbia.

The Albanian language paper FJALJA [as received] said that a so-called education council of the illegal Republic of Kosovo had given the "final word" on the Yugoslav Government proposal. The daily said that the alleged council assessed that this program was also "in the spirit of the discriminatory programs and laws of Serbia in Albanian language education."

Leaders of ethnic Albanians continue to insist on a so-called independent Republic of Kosovo, despite countless warnings by the European Community (EC) that such demands are contrary to the European policy on the inviolability of borders.

Serbian Reinforcements Reportedly Arrive

AU2109142692 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Sep 92 p 12

[R. R. report: "Many Movements of Reservists"]

[Text] Large reinforcements of Serbian military reservists were observed early this morning in Ferizaj [Urosevac]. From different directions of the town, they moved toward the military barracks. Many passers-by also saw the arrival of armored military units, accompanied by police at around 0900. Dozens of armored cars drove along the main street toward the barracks.

The reservists movements and exercises are causing concern to the population of this area, especially the villages of Nerodime, Jazero, and Pleshine. The frequent and low flights of military aircraft also increase tension in this town.

Vojvodina

Farmers Criticize Government Over 'False Picture'

LD2209023192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Vojvodina farmers on 17 September publicly criticized the Serbian Ministry for Agriculture and the government for giving a false picture of the agricultural situation. At a meeting among farmers and the Vojvodina Union of Cooperative Farmers, it was noted that there was no gasoline for the sowing season in spite of government assurances that there would be enough for this purpose. Farmers did receive coupons for gasoline, but there is none because many people and state-owned enterprises are selling it on the black market at higher prices. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

150 Bulgarian Tankers To Deliver Gasoline, Oil

LD2109190192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Skopje, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Tomorrow, Bulgaria will begin the delivery of 26,000 tonnes of oil products to consumers in Macedonia. One hundred and fifty tankers will deliver gasoline and other oil products every day, Macedonian Vice Premier Jovan Andonov said at a news conference in Skopje on his return from an official visit to Sofia. According to Andonov, Bulgaria will make available to Macedonia all the facilities of the refinery in Burgas.

It has been agreed with Turkey that a tanker containing 80 tonnes of crude oil will be delivered to Burgas harbor to be processed there for the Macedonian market. Andonov also announced that Turkey had given Macedonia a gift of 20,000 tonnes of oil products as a sign of friendship and cooperation.

Since the transportation of oil and oil products from Burgas to Macedonia is considerably more expensive than from Thessalonica, it has been announced that gasoline and other oil products in Macedonia will have higher, or as it was stated, "realistic" prices.

Gasoline stations in Macedonia have been without fuel for 20 days.